

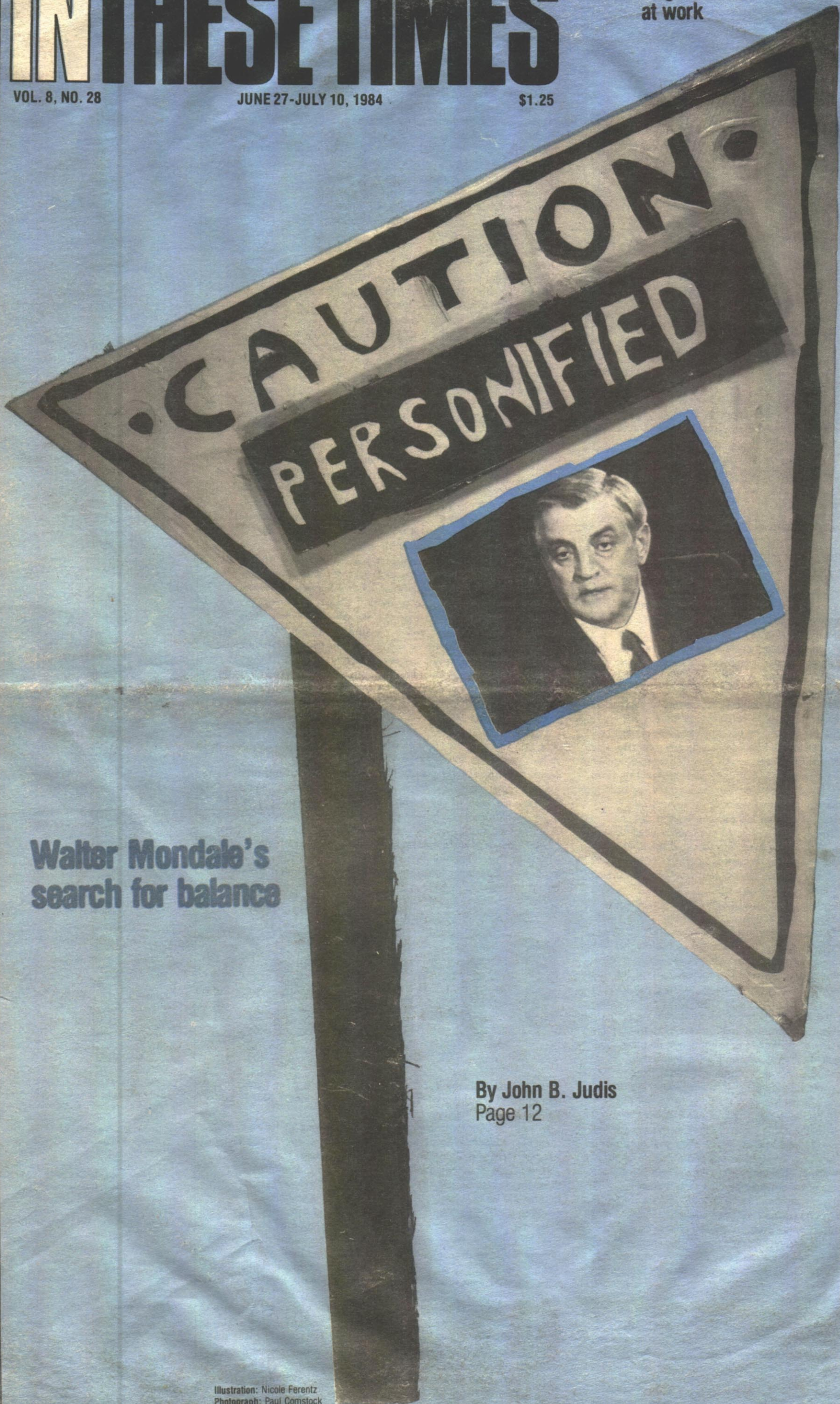
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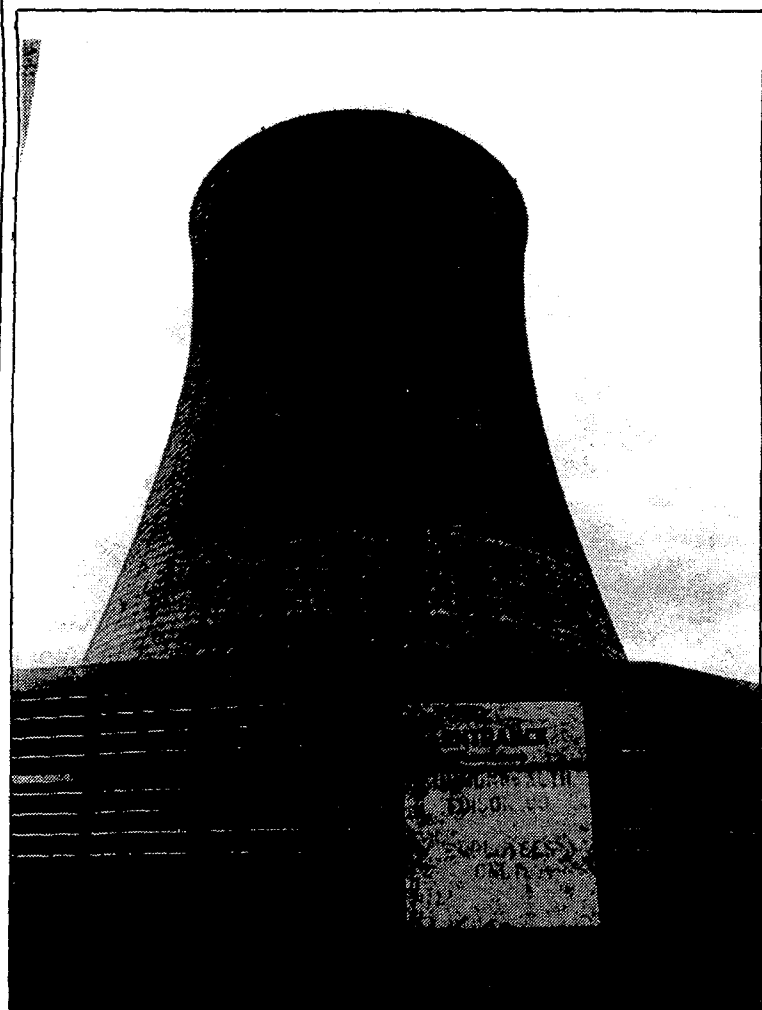
Hog butchers Page 17
at work



**Walter Mondale's
search for balance**

By John B. Judis
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Illustration: Nicole Ferentz
Photograph: Paul Comstock



Paul Comstock

Who will pay for cancelled nukes?

By David Moberg

There is a specter haunting the nuclear power industry. It is not an angry crowd of protestors, not a disastrous meltdown. It is the question of who is going to pick up the tab for the spate of expected power plant financial crises that is just beginning to materialize. The cost for cancelled nuclear plants and new plants that are completed despite gross cost overruns may come to as much as \$100 billion, according to energy analyst Charles Komanoff.

As those bills come due, the utilities will face two options: find somebody who will pay them (taxpayers, ratepayers and other suckers) or go bankrupt. If they go bankrupt, pressures will increase on the banks forced to add bad nuclear power loans to their ever-expanding portfolio of bad debt. The reverberations could ring throughout much of corporate America if stockholders and ratepayers then begin suing utility managers, engineering firms, reactor manufacturers and other parts of the industry for damages on grounds of mismanagement and violation of contracts.

Already the half-finished Marble Hill plant in Indiana and the nearly-completed Zimmer plant in Ohio have been cancelled, and Consumer Power in Michigan is struggling to avoid the likely cancellation of its Midland plant. Komanoff figures that \$15 billion has already been lost in cancelled plants, and another \$20-40 billion will be lost in plants likely to be cancelled.

Suddenly, citizens groups that have fought rate hikes are faced with tough questions: do they acquiesce in plans that make rate-payers and taxpayers absorb all or part of the cost? Or do they force the companies into bankruptcy? One other option that looks appealing in some cases is public ownership of the utility. In most cases that would wipe out common stockholder equity if the utility is taken over at market value (which includes nothing for a useless nuke).

Felix Rohatyn of the Lazard Freres investment banking firm sounded an alarm about the financial implications of the utility crisis in the *New York Review of Books* but recommended finishing incomplete plants quickly. "I still see only a fragmented understanding of what's going on," Komanoff said. "Rohatyn's articles reflects that misunderstanding. It assumes finishing these plants redeems the problem. It's increasingly hard to tell the difference in damage between finishing and not finishing." Komanoff estimates that nuclear plants finished in this decade will yield energy at a cost \$30-\$40 billion higher than coal-fired plants, even assuming higher costs for mine safety and pollution control.

Typically, nuclear plants cost more to build and less to operate than coal generators, but they must be built at less than \$1,000-\$1,200 per kilowatt capacity to be competitive. Now the average nuclear plant will cost \$2,500 per kilowatt. Shoreham, on Long Island, will cost \$3,600. Even worse for nukes, coal prices have stabilized, but increases in operating and maintenance costs for nuclear plants have been unexpectedly sharp—a result of safety additions and more rapid breakdown due to growing plant complexity.

If the costs of these nukes-in-progress (which number about 47) were compared against such alternatives as cogeneration of electricity from waste heat (which is increasing significantly) and other forms of conservation, the economic costs of finishing the plants would be far greater than Komanoff's \$100 billion figure.

The specter before the industry is, Komanoff said, a "three-headed monster"—cancelled plants, unfinished plants and rate shock. The big question is: who will be fed to the monster?

Predictably, all the businesses and utilities that wanted to privatize the profits are now anxious to socialize the losses.

Already the federal treasury effectively absorbs roughly half of these losses through tax write-offs. But the political costs of ramming through giant rate increases may be insurmountable for governors and other public officials. Utilities are prepared to phase in the rate increase, but Komanoff figures that most investors are not willing to wait as long as they would have to, given the upper political limit for annual increases. So far only five utilities have suspended a dividend payment, but such tendencies depress stock values and make it harder for companies to issue bonds. Yet politicians will be hard-pressed to raise electricity rates astronomically to pay dividends on cancelled or overpriced plants.

Already a panel appointed by Republican Gov. Robert Orr of Indiana recommended that consumers be protected. If a governor or public utility commission in another state acts even tougher, forcing more costs on stockholders, it will be hard for another state to avoid taking a similar hard line.

Orr now recommends a rate hike of about 17 percent phased in over five years that would recover the costs of Marble Hill to Public Service Co. of Indiana over 20 years. Dividends would be stopped for three years and limited thereafter. Earlier this year—when a consortium of banks led by Chase Manhattan threatened to withdraw credit to Public Service and provoke bankruptcy if the company was not granted an emergency rate hike—the Indiana Public Service Commission granted a 5 percent increase (and the company is waiting to ask for more after the November elections). There were token executive salary cuts, but dividends were still paid.

Citizens Action Coalition of Indiana—the major consumer utility group in the state—did not join with business and political leaders in the agreement to prevent bankruptcy, but they did not appeal it either. Now they are weighing their options: support for the governor's plan, forcing the company into bankruptcy or public ownership under a regional power authority established by the state legislature. In either of the last two cases, stockholder equity and bank loans would be wiped out.

The industry has already begun looking for several safety nets. Faster licensing would at best offer short-term relief but no real solution. Converting the plants to coal, as the utility proposed for Zimmer, would be very costly, as much as building a new plant. The only reason for doing it is to be able to charge for the abandoned nuclear plant. Besides, in many cases, since demand has not been increasing as fast as utilities said it would, there is no need for any new plant, Komanoff argues.

Reactor manufacturers, engineers and construction firms, like Bechtel, have also made offers to finish the plants. But so far the deals have had too many loopholes. (Public Service of Indiana last week turned down one such proposal.) Clearly the firms have an interest—even at some cost to themselves—in preventing the demise of nuclear power, which would not only cut off income but probably expose them to numerous lawsuits. (A consultant study of the Zimmer plant last week attributed most of the Zimmer cost overrun to utility management, which diminishes the chances of the company recovering that loss with rate increases. But it also recommended suing General Electric for its failures in producing the reactor.)

Then there is, as always, the federal bailout route. There are proposals in Congress, one of which passed the Senate, to permit utilities in trouble to use tax-exempt bonds or Industrial Revenue Bonds to complete the plants. There have also been proposals to use the Rural Electrification Administration as a bailout agency. For example, part of the Seabrook plant could be bought by REA, which would resell the power to a participating utility but give the utility needed cash. Although such schemes might save as much as a couple hundred million dollars, according to Alan Noguee, utility analyst at Environmental Action, the plants would still be much too expensive. Consumer lobbyists also fear even a modest bailout

THE STORY INSIDER

could be a foot in the door. "The bottom line is using public money to guarantee profits to private corporations," Noguee said, "and it shouldn't happen."

Consumer utility groups have been busily trying to figure out their best response. Some fear that bankruptcy would bring higher interest rates and ultimately bigger electricity bills. Komanoff argues that utilities could still get credit, and higher interest payments would be less than paying for the abandoned plant. Ultimately, he says, only investors would be hurt—unless they could shift costs to Westinghouse, Bechtel and other suppliers.

But Noguee said that two consultant studies—one of Shoreham and the other of Three Mile Island—showed public takeover would impose the lowest cost on consumers, followed by bankruptcy. (The various "utility survival plans" would all be more costly.)

"A primary cause of the situation we're in is the assumption that no matter what the cost, ratepayers will pay for it," Noguee said. "It's essential not only in terms of equity but also the future not to accept that. The least we should be able to get out of this is rational planning for energy needs. And the only way to get that is if there's strong incentive to control costs and not build plants that are not absolutely needed. The only way is if people who gambled their money this time lose. It's a contradiction for private utilities to plan those things themselves and now ask the public to pay for their mistakes. So it may be best for the public to take over management."



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Peace not at hand in El Salvador

By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

NAPOLION DUARTE, EL SALVADOR's new president, has effectively ruled out negotiations with the left, saying he will negotiate only after they lay down their arms. Despite Reagan's election year attempts to create the illusion of progress toward a settlement—for example, sending Secretary of State George Shultz to Nicaragua recently—peace is not at hand.

Col. Joseph Stringham, the 44-year-old outgoing commander of the U.S. advisors, gave his first and last on-the-record press briefing on June 4. In the past, briefing ground rules always required Stringham to be referred to only as a "Western observer" or a "military observer." This time the crew-cut veteran of three tours in Vietnam was upbeat, claiming, "The initiative clearly rests with the government forces."

Stringham had good reason to be optimistic: the U.S. military pipeline has been turned on again, and U.S. reconnaissance flights, together with improvements in the Salvadoran military, seem to have the Farabundo-Martí Liberation Front (FMLN) in check for the moment.

The rainy season is traditionally the time for the war to slow and for U.S. advisors to claim that the guerrillas are demoralized and almost defeated.

Military experts now say that the guerrillas' ability to mass and transport their troops has been hampered by round-the-clock reconnaissance flights flown by U.S. pilots based at Palmerola Air Force Base in Honduras. The OV-1 Mohawk aircraft are loaded with sophisticated electronics. Since mid-February the planes have conducted flights using conventional radar, infra-red radar that can pick up guerrilla movements at night, and electronic receivers that can pick up and home in on guerrilla field radios. Even before February, F-30s based in Panama flew similar but less regularly scheduled missions.

The U.S. reconnaissance flights were originally justified as necessary to protect the elections from guerrilla disruption, but there is no sign that they will be discontinued now that the elections are over. "With the elections as a pretext, there has been an escalation in the war. The airborne intelligence and the more frequent use of air power is upsetting the military plans of, and presenting obstacles to, the FMLN," says a Salvadoran political observer.

Zamora on the guerrillas.

FMLN sources confirm that the observation flights and increased bombings and shellings have slowed the guerrilla movement that had developed during the spectacular fall offensive. Ruben Zamora, Democratic Revolutionary Front spokesman, admitted to *In These Times* that the observation flights did present problems. But he said that, while they gave the army a temporary tactical advantage, the guerrillas still have the strategic edge in the war. Moreover, the guerrillas are experimenting with ways of fooling the heat detectors, such as using piles of animal manure to simulate the heat of the human body.

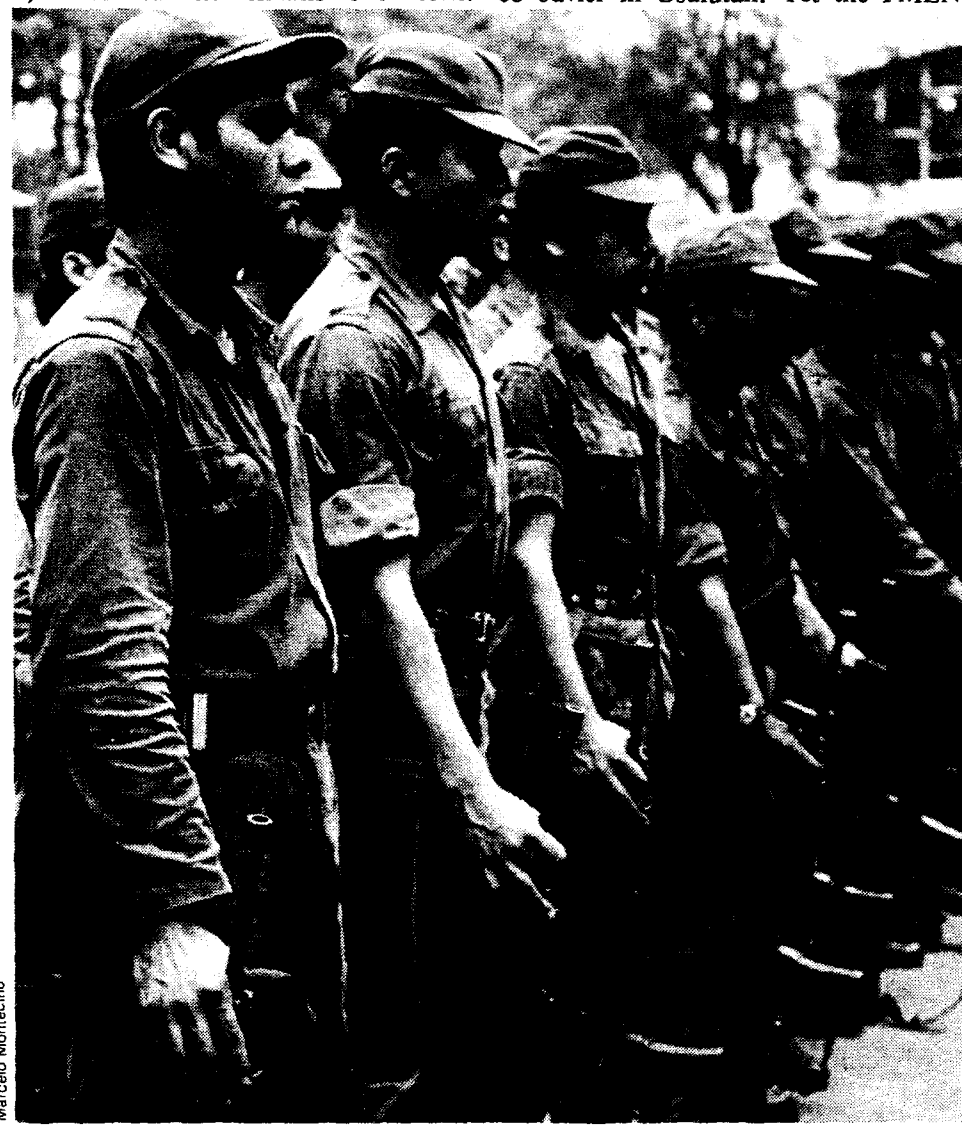
Zamora also pointed out that the guerrilla war has always had its ebbs and flows. He said the guerrillas alternate between times of smaller-scale attacks designed to disperse government forces and times when they concentrate their combatants for major offensives. Zamora pointed to the period since January as one of expansion of small-scale opera-

tions in new areas such as La Libertad, Santa Ana and the area east of the Guazapa Volcano.

Zamora claimed that the rainy season that just started presents certain advantages for the FMLN, especially since the army had become dependent on more sophisticated U.S. technology. While the OV-1s aren't affected by the weather, spotter planes, which coordinate infantry movements and adjust artillery fire, and air force bombers will be hampered. The rainy season will also bog down the army, which is more dependent on heavy equipment than the guerrilla forces.

The guerrillas are also developing new tactics to deal with the expanded use of aviation by the government, Zamora said. Instead of retreating in the face of every air strike, the guerrillas are learning to move closer to the government troops so that the planes risk hitting their own troops.

Whether the FMLN will regain its ability to operate battalion-size units of 1,000 combatants remains to be seen.



The FMLN made this qualitative step forward during the 1983 fall offensive that started last September 3 with the logistically complex assault on San Miguel, El Salvador's third largest city, by using heavy mortars. The FMLN captured the army communication center on top of the Cacahuatique Volcano in a frontal attack and ended the offensive by overrunning the fourth largest military base, El Paraiso, Chaletenango, on December 30, while many of the soldiers were away for Christmas.

The destruction of the modern El Paraiso base severely shook army morale, which plunged even further 72 hours later when guerrillas drove off national guard and army units guarding the strategic Cuscatlan bridge and blew it up.

During the FMLN offensive the Salvadoran army abandoned major portions of eastern El Salvador to the guerrillas, rather than risk having their posts overrun. FMLN units moved freely through many areas, often commandeering trucks to transport troops along the dirt secondary roads that crisscross the rural

countryside.

The offensive's spectacular success led some to expect more large-scale attacks as well as the accelerated disintegration of the Salvadoran army, which had surrendered in many cases instead of fighting. Yet there have been no major guerrilla attacks since January, with the exception of the brief taking of Tehutepeque on the first election day and some heavy fighting near Ciudad Barrios.

The army, aided by the airborne intelligence, went into an offensive in mid-February to prevent guerrilla actions that could disrupt the elections. The army moved back into areas that had been held by the FMLN since the fall—in particular launching an offensive in Usulután.

The efforts stretched the army's forces, however, and immediately after the elections the army retreated. On recent trips, guerrilla units were encountered near Suchitoto and in Santa Clara, San Vicente province. Members of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) elite Rafael Arce Zablah Brigade were encountered just two kilometers south of a government checkpoint in Jucuapa, Usulután, in Seseor, San Miguel and Jucuarán in the rugged mountains of coastal Usulután. The FMLN is also back in areas briefly occupied by the army during the elections, such as Las Palmas in Chaletenango and San Agustín and San Francisco Javier in Usulután. Yet the FMLN

his special task has been to harass guerrilla supply lines running west from Morazan to Cabanas or south to Usulután. His aggressive operations north of Cuidada Barrios have reportedly kept the FMLN off balance. Monterrosa claims he has forced the guerrillas to use routes closer to the Honduran border and more difficult to traverse.

Monterrosa's goal is to keep his troops in the countryside on a permanent basis—just like the guerrillas. He tries to keep his troops moving and not in static positions where "they can be identified, studied and attacked. We don't try to hold onto positions. We just try to go after the 'subversives' and keep hitting them," he told *In These Times*.

Monterrosa formerly headed the Atlacatl, the first U.S.-trained elite unit. Although U.S. training was supposed to "professionalize" the army and make soldiers respect human rights, the Atlacatl Battalion under Monterrosa was responsible for the massacre of close to 1,000 peasants in El Mozote in December 1981 during a large-scale sweep of Morazan province.

Massacres by his troops were so frequent that Monterrosa got the nickname "Thumbs-behind-the-Back" at the U.S. embassy, according to former *Washington Post* reporter Christopher Dickey. More recently, on November 3 of last year, his troops massacred more than 100 civilians who had surrendered to government troops near San Nicolás and La Escopeta, just prior to being named commander in the east.

Civilian casualties have also mounted because of stepped-up bombings by the Salvadoran air force—from 10 bombs a day up to 30. Col. Stringham admits there have been civilian casualties, but says that approval is required for "any air strikes in proximity to a built-up area or where there could be civilian casualties. There is no conscious effort and never has been...by the Salvadoran armed forces to drive people from an area through the use of firepower of whatever mode."

Refugees from the area near Suchitoto, however, reported widespread bombing with apparent disregard for the civilian population. The *Christian Science Monitor* even reported that the air force was bombing civilians in the area waiting to receive food from the Red Cross.

Many Salvadoran officers clearly feel that any civilians in areas of guerrilla activity are fair game. "If they are in the *masa*, they are future guerrillas. We don't distinguish between the guerrillas and the *masas*," said Maj. Miguel Borja in Zacatecoluca. "*Masa*" is the general term for civilians living in areas of guerrilla activity who are suspected by the army of collaborating with the guerrillas.

Col. Stringham, however, said, "There has never been a conscious effort on the part of the armed forces—even the very aggressive field commanders such as Monterrosa—to avoid at all costs inflicting casualties on non-combatants."

The Salvadoran army is also trying to deprive the population of guerrilla-held areas, even those under only temporary control, of food and medicine. A religious source familiar with the situation in the eastern province of Morazan said, "There are shortages of food and medicine. No trucks go up there any more [across the Torola River]. Before the Red Cross used to go in and distribute food but a year ago they stopped." He said that many people were fleeing the area because of the increased army shelling and the forced recruiting by both sides.

The religious source said that the FMLN has recently increased pressure on young people to "incorporate." This "pressure recruitment" by the guerrillas comes from a "practical problem—there are very few young people left. Last January the army started massive recruitment. There were army trucks at every turnoff, pulling young men off the buses. They got 600 to 700 in one week. There is very little voluntary enlistment for the

Continued on page 6

FMLN sources confirm that the observation flights and increased bombings have slowed the guerrillas.

hasn't regained its previous momentum.

The army's more recent success is related to an important reorganization it underwent last November 25 aimed at putting the best commanders in charge of critical units. Lt. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, considered the army's best field commander, was given the command of the conflictive eastern provinces.

In addition to overall coordination,

IN SHORT

With God on his side

"A good Christian man." That's how one local businessman attending the Full Gospel Business Association Conference in Portland last month described Rios Montt, the featured dinner speaker. But as the audience welcomed the born-again former Guatemalan president with applause, an unidentified woman quietly stepped to the microphone and set the record straight, reports Peter Dammann. "Rios Montt," she said, "is responsible for the slaughter of 15,000 Guatemalans...."

Silence fell over the crowd as a handful of conservatively dressed activists seated among them rose and unfurled their banners. According to Amnesty International, as Guatemala's president during 1982-83, Montt racked up one of the world's worst human rights records. Thousands of Mayan Indians, Catholic priests and lay workers, says the human rights group, died in the "massive extra-judicial executions" that thrived during Montt's rule.

The hotel's security guards quickly hustled the protesters, all members of the Portland Central America Solidarity Committee, from the room. "After I was elected president," said Montt through an interpreter, in an address that otherwise eschewed the political for the biblical, "there were no more subversives. It was not because we killed our subversives. They were defeated by God."

Nuclear blockade

A week after Montt's exhortation in Portland, antinuclear activists occupied a bridge in the seacoast city, protesting the arrival of a nuclear-capable flotilla. Their stand delayed the docking of the fleet's flagship—the U.S.S. *Leahy*—for half an hour, reports Rich Lochner. Of the 40 occupying the bridge, seven were arrested for disorderly conduct after refusing police orders to leave. Following the *Leahy* was the U.S.S. *Merrill*—a test ship for the new Tomahawk and sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM). Beginning this month, 758 nuclear SLCMs will be deployed on Navy ships, according to the Institute for Policy Studies. Though the Navy won't confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons on a ship, 80 percent of Navy ships carry them, says the Center for Defense Information.

The fleet docked in Portland for the annual Rose Festival, a carnival-like celebration on the downtown waterfront. Protestors hung signs to greet them: "Welcome sailors, but not your nukes." Some commented on the festival atmosphere: "The hoopla makes it sound like it's a good time to bring the family to see these ships that carry weapons designed to destroy all life." Sailors on the *Leahy* were not surprised by their brief stoppage. One told local TV, "It seems like everywhere we put into port there's a protest." The *Leahy*'s past is just as sordid: named after a U.S. admiral who directed forces in the 1912 invasion of Nicaragua, it was also the flagship for a 1983 Central American Navy task force sent to threaten Nicaraguan ports.

Fortune's "Believe It or Not"

Fortune magazine's June 11 issue argues that the recent furor over megabucks for top executives is uncalled for since the corporation's shareholders aren't grouching about management pay. The author avoids unnecessary talk of managerial waste by a top-heavy bureaucracy, the increased degree of control that managers have over their own salaries and the great disparity between what executives and workers make (see *In These Times*, June 11). Instead, he zeroes in on the heart of the matter: "For all the furor on the talk shows and op-ed pages we have little evidence that the people and institutions whose own money is on the line feel aggrieved by top executives' pay levels." Not so sure that even regular readers of *Fortune* would buy that narrow line of argument, the article's title neatly hedged its bets: "Believe it or not, top-executive pay may make sense."

Network against concessions

More than 650 labor activists from throughout the U.S. and Canada met June 15-17 in Ypsilanti, Mich., to discuss new ways of building union solidarity in organizing and bargaining, reports Steve Early. Sponsored by the Detroit-based Labor Education and Research Project (LERP), which publishes *Labor Notes*, the conference attracted scores of local union officers, stewards and committee members from the UAW, IBT, USWA, CWA, ATU, APWU, NALC and other unions. Plenary speeches and workshop presentations about 1984 negotiations involving coal miners, postal workers and auto workers stressed the need for well-organized opposition to further concessions. Conference participants also made plans to formalize and expand a LERP-assisted "solidarity network." The network consists of local community-labor strike support groups that have developed around the country during anti-concession struggles against Greyhound, McDonald Douglass, and other companies. Such groups now exist—sometimes with official union sponsorship—in Toledo, Boston, Providence, R.I., and Long Beach, Calif. "The Network is not meant to substitute for the official organizations and channels of the labor movement," said LERP staff member Jane Slaughter. "But it is our observation that there is a place for this sort of catalytic action that sometimes brings official support in its trail, as happened in the Greyhound strike last year."

—Beth Maschinot



STEGAC workers occupied the Guatemala City Coke plant for three and a half months.

Coke workers victorious in Guatemala

WASHINGTON—A 14-week labor dispute between 460 Guatemalan employees and the Coca-Cola Company ended last month when the union signed an agreement with the makers of "the real thing" after 48 nearly continuous hours of grueling negotiations in San Jose, Costa Rica. The agreement scored a major victory for the union—the *Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Embotelladora Guatemalteca SA Anexos y Conexos*, or STEGAC—and could prove to be an important precedent for labor relations throughout Guatemala.

Employees at the principal Guatemalan Coke bottling plant, located in Guatemala City and known as EGSA, had occupied the facility since February 18, when managers of the franchise announced EGSA would close its doors the next day due to financial insolvency. The collective bargaining agreement in effect at the time was declared null and void, and a massive \$9 million debt was passed over to angry Coke shareholders. An international boycott of Coke, announced in Geneva April 7 to protest EGSA's closing was followed by work stoppages at

Coke franchises in Mexico, Sweden and Norway.

Signed May 27, the Coke-STEGAC truce restores recognition of the collective bargaining agreement STEGAC said had been violated by Coke, and guarantees retention of the work force at the plant after EGSA has been resold. The agreement has been endorsed by the Guatemalan Ministry of Labor.

"STEGAC is one of the most effective unions in a country where this [a plant occupation] just isn't done," said negotiating team member Sally Cornwell. "This is a symbol for other Guatemalan unions." (U.S. labor and human rights groups in Washington say 13 labor leaders, from other Guatemalan unions have disappeared since November.)

The current controversy at EGSA can be traced back to the late '70s, when a two million member Geneva-based labor organization, the International Union of Food & Allied Workers' Associations (IUF) sponsored a global Coke boycott after seven STEGAC members were killed in violent confrontations with EGSA's previous management. The IUF boycott of Coke in 1980 led to a May 1980 collective bargaining agreement at EGSA, which is believed to be the first negotiated settlement between an international labor organization and a multinational corporation. One of the IUF's organizing

strategies is to force multinationals like Coke to negotiate with organized labor across national borders.

The May 1980 agreement at EGSA called for Coke to resell the franchise, hire new managers, recognize STEGAC and compensate widows of the seven slain labor leaders. The contract was due to expire in May 1985. The IUF called off the international boycott and few complaints were heard from either side until the abrupt February announcement that EGSA was deeply in debt and would close.

At a Washington, D.C., press conference held two months after the EGSA occupation began, a U.S. labor delegation that traveled to Guatemala City to investigate the occupation charged that Coke deliberately collaborated with the franchise owners in EGSA's sudden closing. The Coca-Cola Company's goal, they said, was to shift business to two less active, non-union Guatemalan bottling plants directly owned by Coke in Tetahuleu and Puerto Barrios.

Coke denied the charges. In a March 12 letter to the head of the AFL-CIO Food and Beverage division, Coke employee relations director Michael Semrau said his company "neither participates in nor influences the closing of profitable businesses." He said the company met all contractual obligations to workers at the plant.

SYLVIA



TODAY THE WHITE HOUSE REVEALED THAT A SUMMIT MEETING, WHICH WAS TO TAKE PLACE LATER THIS MONTH BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND SOVIET PRESIDENT CHERNENKO IN A CALIFORNIA HOT TUB, HAD BEEN

by Nicole Hollander



CALLED OFF FOR SECURITY REASONS. "THOSE SECRET SERVICE GUYS NEVER TAKE OFF THEIR JACKETS, LET ALONE ANYTHING ELSE," SAID A WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN.

Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

Initially, at least, Coke refused to negotiate, saying the 1980 collective bargaining agreement involved EGSA owners and STEGAC only, and not Coca-Cola. "The plant is not Coke property," said Carlton Curtis, manager of media relations for Coca-Cola in Atlanta. "There is a misunderstanding about the agreement and the five years. When an independent franchise ceases to operate for whatever reason...that affects the contract between that contract holder and the franchise owner. That's the extent of it."

Coke agreed to negotiation, said Curtis, when it became clear that STEGAC employees did not want severance pay, but intended to remain at the plant until Coke agreed to find new owners and restore the 1980 agreement. But according to Stan Gacek, official with the United Food and Commercial Workers in Washington, D.C., and an observer at the Costa Rica negotiations, Coke was "very concerned about the possibility of a boycott. They were very concerned about their reputation being damaged."

Currently, STEGAC members remain at the plant as a care and maintenance force, and will soon receive reduced wages for their work, retroactive to February 18, until Coke finds new owners for EGSA. Former EGSA managers have not been seen or heard from since mid-February and are thought to have left the country. And Guatemalan authorities have not yet completed their investigation into past deaths at the plant. When one Washington labor official asked the Guatemalan interior minister when findings from that probe will be released, the minister said, "That's anybody's guess."

—Barbara Yuill

Blacks charge voting fraud

TUNICA, MISS.—Last November, when Lawyer Porter Jr. and five other blacks ran for county and district offices here, the objective was to take political control of the county. Sixty-five percent of the registered voters and 73 percent of the population in this north Mississippi county are black.

Because of their numbers and their organized effort, the black candidates expected to win here in the poorest county in Mississippi. It came as a shock when they lost to six local white candidates. They quickly yelled foul play and filed a federal lawsuit asking that the election be thrown out because of voting fraud, bribery and denial of voting and constitutional rights to blacks. The suit—filed by Alvin Chambliss of the North Mississippi Rural Legal Services—was the first case filed after the 1982 revisions in the Voting Rights Law.

Candidate Porter claimed that open and free elections couldn't be held here because of voting fraud, vote-buying schemes and other voting and constitutional violations. "We do not have open and free elections in Tunica County," Porter said, "and black voters are not allowed to elect or vote for a candidate of

their choice."

At a hearing in Oxford, Miss., earlier this year, other black Tunica residents testified during a five-day court hearing to charges similar to those made by Porter.

Voter Gloria Starks testified she was given \$10 and a six-pack of beer to vote for Lawyer Porter's opponent, Wallace Franklin. She said other blacks received either money or beer for their votes. Campaign workers for Franklin, however, denied her charges. Franklin defeated Porter by a margin of 150 votes—455 to 305. Beatrice Robinson testified that an election worker who helped her with voting didn't allow her to vote for the candidate of her choice.

Mrs. Robinson, who can't read or write, said the worker—a black woman working for a white candidate—told her not to vote for the black candidates. The election worker denies this.

Robert Hall, a young, articulate black election official, mentioned during the hearing that he didn't like the way the balloting was handled at the Robinsonville precinct where he worked during the election. According to Hall, C.P. Owens, a wealthy white landowner, placed himself in a position between an election clerk and a balloting table in order to intimidate black voters.

Blacks were also forced to vote in twos and were not allowed to take sample ballots into the voting booths. This scared some elderly blacks and prevented them from voting. The Robinsonville precinct is 75 percent black.

Prosecutor Chambliss, in asking the court to throw the election out, said it was filled with "fraud and outright denial of potential black voters to vote in the election."

Judge William Keady of the Northern Mississippi Federal Judicial District disagreed with Chambliss. In a 33-page opinion issued in April he said: "The evidence fails to convince us that the general election in Tunica County was held under practices that discriminated against black voters or that the election results might have been affected by racially discriminatory practices. Mere error in an election, if such occurred here, is not enough to invalidate a state election."

"This decision is a slap in the face of every black American," said Joe Joyner, a black candidate for Supervisor, District 4, who lost to George Cloud, a white candidate. He added that the ruling does the same thing to blacks in Tunica that whites "have been doing to us all the time."

Chambliss said he was shocked by the ruling. He also said he has been asked by his client to appeal the decision.

Tunica has a population of 9,000. Ninety-nine percent of the 5,000 residents in the town who receive food stamps are black; 45 percent of the population who are over the age of 21 can't read or write. The county's major industry is farming.

Despite the ruling and the overwhelming poverty, Lawyer Porter Jr. and other blacks say they won't be stopped from making further attempts to gain political power for blacks in Tunica County.

—Joseph Delaney

Interview: Devlin on socialism and women

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, longtime Irish civil rights activist, is still trailed by the "fiery" tag the press gave her when she took Westminster by storm in 1969. In her maiden speech as an Irish member of Parliament she forthrightly criticized England's role in Ireland's "British problem."

Streaks of grey now run through the auburn hair of this 36-year-old mother of three who remains unbending in her views regarding British occupation of Irish soil. But the fiery label is belied by an eloquence and soft-spoken manner that any British aristocrat would envy.

Three years after surviving an assassination attempt, McAliskey made a recent speaking tour of four U.S. cities. We talked in her Chicago Sheraton Hotel room, which she found "above my station."

You've often said that the fundamental issue facing Ireland is partition. What was the legacy of that 1921 decision to divide Ireland?

People often forget the two sides of partition. Not only did it create the distortion that is Northern Ireland, but it also created the distortion that is southern Ireland. Ireland is a country created after a civil war. It is only 60 years old. It's only when you've been there for some time that you realize southern Ireland is an emerging nation with, although I don't like the phrase, a "Third World economy" sitting there slop in western Europe. It's a nation whose development is thwarted by the unresolved situation between the north and the south and between Ireland and Britain.

What was the effect of partitioning on Northern Ireland?

The legacy of partition in the north has been much worse than in the south. The northern state was the undemocratic rump artificially created against the democratic will of the Irish people, by threat of armed insurrection by the national minority (Loyalists). In order to maintain the state, Catholics—the native population, disloyal to the state—had to be excluded from every walk of life above the bottom level. That created a situation of social and economic hardship and political discrimination for 40 percent of the population, which sparked off the civil rights movement. From there the question of seeking reform from within the state became a realization that the state was the opposite of reform. So in order to get basic human rights the whole partition experiment had to be dissolved. And the question of self-determination was opened up again.

More than 25 percent of the south's blue-collar workers are employed in American-owned plants. Some Americans think the U.S. economic involvement

tion. What are your thoughts on that?

Some Irish-American businessmen have used the phrase, "You'd be better off under us than under the British." What they don't understand is that we don't want to be under anybody. The needs of the Irish people are not exorbitant. We do not want to have a major defense budget for nuclear arms or to be part of NATO. Our basic needs are to feed and clothe and provide for the liberties of our population of 4.5 million people in a basically agricultural society that is developing oil, natural gas and mineral wealth. What I fear is that before we even get to the point of self-determination it will be predetermined for us by the multinationals and American investors.

An American Indian journalist said last year that the hidden story of the 20th century is the struggle of the land-based peoples to survive. Does that struggle continue today in Ireland?

As a socialist I speak for myself. I come from the peasantry that throughout history has thrown up good socialists (*laughter*). To me the thing that is indefensible in Ireland is the waste of the land created by the attempt to secure Ireland's economic future by external investment in large

80 percent of the landholdings in Ireland are less than 100 acres. Farmers were encouraged to borrow money to develop their land and compete on European terms. Now the bubble has burst, the small farmer is unable to compete and cannot repay the banks. And so people who've inherited the land from their fathers are being forced off the land, not by Cromwell and not by the British aristocracy, but by the Irish banks. Our options are cooperative farming or getting out of the European Common Market. The degree to which Ireland could become self-sufficient in the area of food is phenomenal. But the land is being used to produce grass for cows to eat.

What is life like for women in Northern Ireland?

Similar to that in most conservative places: the women's place is in the home. For working women we have legislation from the United Kingdom demanding an end to sex discrimination and equal pay for equal work done. But we are a million light-years from the opportunity for women in Ireland to do equal work. Many women work in the evening or while their kids are at school. These jobs are in the bars, auxiliary work in the hospitals or cleaning houses in the better areas of the city. The wages are so low you can work a full week and still not reach the national poverty level.

Have these conditions translated into a strong feminist movement?

Both north and south the feminist movement is small.



Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

plants.

Before the Irish people were driven off their land by the British in the early 1600s, the land was common to the people. Perhaps something we have in common with the native Americans is that one person does not own the land. Through the Land Acts at the start of this century the land was returned in very small plots to individual people. So we developed a concept of a nation of small farmers.

Yet we cannot compete with the agricultural and economic policies of Europe where a viable farming unit is a minimum of 100 acres. More than

The strong puritanical consciousness throughout Ireland militates against it. And the national question cuts across it. While people like myself who are feminist within the national movement support the broad feminist movement and the question of women's rights within society, the feminist movement as such does not support the nationalist movement. They feel their chances of making progress on women's rights will be hampered by the bad company of women like myself, so they avoid the national question like the plague.

—Graham Clarke

Salvador

Continued from page 3
armed forces."

The guerrilla-forced recruitment in Morazan began two months ago, according to this source, although not on as large a scale as the army. Instead of capturing hundreds, the guerrillas would "go up to a village and take five or 10 young people."

In the past, reports of forced guerrilla recruiting have been difficult to verify. Apparent cases sometimes mask voluntary enlistments, to prevent army reprisals against family members.

Although forced recruiting by the guerrillas remains only a fraction of that done by the army, it contradicts past practice and the guerrillas' own criticism of the army's behavior. The army press office, Coprefa, and U.S. officials have been quick to exploit the issue, claiming that the guerrillas' forced recruiting reflects a lack of popular support and a new des-

peration on the part of the guerrillas.

Sources close to the FMLN point out that there is now a war between two armies, and that, as an army, the FMLN has the right to recruit. Observers also speculate that the drastic increase in army impressment reduced the pool of young people and the FMLN started forcible recruitments to keep pace.

Pro-FMLN sources say its recruits can leave after about a month if they don't like being with the guerrillas. They also claim that the FMLN treats its recruits humanely, in contrast to the army, which bases its military discipline on "attacks on the personal dignity" of the soldiers.

The situation is dangerous for young people, according to the religious source. If they are not organized by the guerrillas they are likely to be killed, captured or recruited by the army. This pressure has prompted "immense numbers of young people to go to the U.S., 20 or 30 every week. Every town has its own 'coyote' who takes groups across the border into Mexico." One religious man sold all his possessions to send his four sons to Houston so they wouldn't become "con-

taminated" by the army—"turned into killers with no respect for human life."

Government propaganda portrays the guerrillas as on the edge of starvation and puts out numerous press releases about disillusioned fighters who have turned themselves in to the armed forces. In turn, many urban Salvadorans, reading a constant diet of such reports, imagine the guerrillas to be emaciated and their morale near the breaking point.

Yet guerrillas encountered in different parts of the country, some groups as close as a half hour's drive from the capital on the road to Suchitoto, have looked adequately nourished, well armed and seemed to have good morale.

Their optimism may be the result of the increasingly apparent failure of the National Plan, which Col. Stringham has called the key to the success of the war. The counter-insurgency plan, similar to the CORDS program used in Vietnam, aimed to secure the important agricultural provinces of San Vicente and Usulután, and then, by the creation of civilian paramilitary groups, prevent the guerrillas from re-entering. At the same time, the government would attempt to win the hearts and minds of the civilian population by sponsoring development projects and civic action.

A year after the ambitious plan began with the sweep of San Vicente by 6,000 troops, the guerrillas are stationed throughout the two provinces. In fact, the guerrillas are the *de facto* government in many places and journalists have re-

ported that civic action projects proceed only with the guerrillas' permission.

The army's main accomplishment in San Vicente has been to patrol the Pan-American and the coast highways and to keep the road to Tecoluca open. In Usulután, Col. Monterrosa says he will put greater pressure on guerrillas in the Jucuarán and other southern and central Usulután areas of guerrilla activity.

Yet, although the U.S. reconnaissance flights have stopped the FMLN's momentum for the moment, it will be difficult to push the troops back from all the areas they expanded into during their fall offensive. And even a stalemate in the war works to the guerrillas' advantage in the long run.

But many thoughtful Salvadorans become pessimistic contemplating the future. President Reagan looks likely to be re-elected and the Duarte victory has assured a massive increase in war material. The Reagan administration is equally opposed to withdrawal or negotiation with the Salvadoran left. The U.S. military—which continues to believe that it could have won in Vietnam if it hadn't been betrayed by the press and the politicians—already has drawn up invasion contingency plans and constructed the infrastructure for a massive U.S. intervention in neighboring Honduras.

For the moment, the war is relatively quiet. But many wonder how the Reagan administration will respond if the guerrillas launch a strong fall offensive and the position of the army deteriorates.

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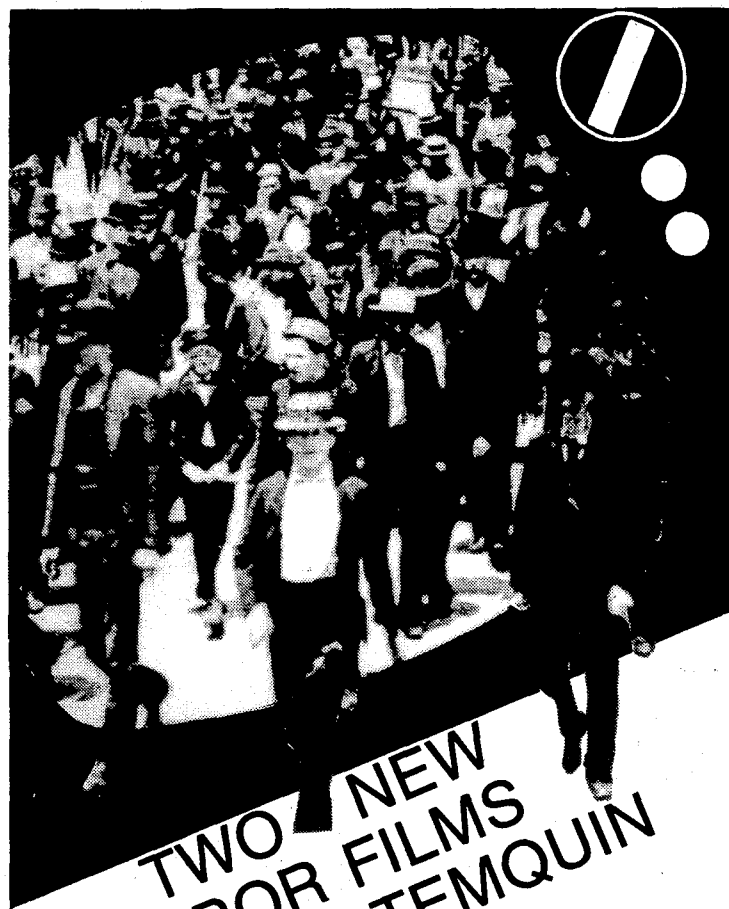
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By Geoffrey Rips

AUSTIN, TX

WHEN, ON JUNE 14, STATE Sen. Lloyd Doggett was declared the winner of the Texas Democratic primary for John Tower's U.S. Senate seat, it marked a shift in power in Democratic Party politics that could determine Texas political life for years to come. Despite the fact that Doggett had to suffer through a recount that provided a 1,300-vote margin out of 980,000 votes cast, his victory brought an end to four decades of control of the Democratic Party by large landholders and Dallas and Houston corporate interests.

Instead, a coalition of largely urban interests, which had first tasted victory in the 1982 state elections won by Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower and State Treasurer Ann Richards, provided the organization and voters necessary to carry Doggett into the general election race against Phil Gramm. The Texas Democratic Party, long underdeveloped, had come of age.

For the past 40 years the state's population and economic strength was centered in its urban areas while the political ideology of Texas remained decidedly rural, Western and true to the mythology of the rugged individual. In the '50s, this was epitomized by Gov. Allan Shivers, who fought integration and bolted the national Democratic Party in order to back Eisenhower. During the '60s, corporate attorney John Connally posed as a south Texas rancher, became governor, decried government interference in corporate affairs and turned back protesting farmworkers who had marched 200 miles from Texas' Rio Grande Valley. In the

His win proves that a mainstream Texas Democrat can no longer be defined as a "good ol' boy" with oil and land.

'70s, the standard-bearers for the Democratic Party were typical south Texas feudal lords, U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, an insurance magnate from the Rio Grande Valley, and Gov. Dolph Briscoe, a wealthy south Texas rancher and oilman.

But in the mid-'70s, Democratic Party politics on a local level in the state began to change. This was particularly true in south Texas, where a majority of the population is Mexican-American. Several young Mexican-American political leaders and ward-healers, many of them veterans of the short-lived Raza Unida Party, began to enter Democratic Party politics. Some eventually became state representatives, county commissioners or local party chiefs. Others developed networks and constituencies through social service agencies.

In San Antonio, the Industrial Areas Foundation put together a community organization, called Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), in mostly lower-middle-class Mexican-American neighborhoods, which grew to 90,000 families in membership and led to a Mexican-American majority on a reconstituted city council elected by single-member districts. The Industrial Areas Foundation subsequently organized communities in Houston, El Paso, Fort Worth and the Rio Grande Valley.

In the late '70s, the recession reached the Sunbelt. There were layoffs in the steel industry in east Texas and along the Gulf coast. The devaluation of the peso brought 20 and 30 percent unemployment on the Texas border with Mexico. The unending prosperity of unbridled corporate growth preached by the traditional leaders of the Democratic Party no

longer correlated with the reality many Texans were living.

Going after the big boys.

So, in 1982, when Jim Hightower and company went after the "big boys"—the corporations controlling farming and agricultural distribution, the utility companies, the banks—they struck a responsive chord among constituencies organized on a local level but never before actively engaged on a large scale in politics. Hightower, in particular, helped organize local networks into a statewide apparatus, bringing together disgruntled family farmers from old populist strongholds of north central Texas, urban consumer activists and black Baptist ministers. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, apparently able to read the party shift taking place in 1982, called for party unity, working the reform network as well as his own, centered in corporate law firms, banks, insurance and oil.

Then came the Senate election of 1984. When John Tower announced in 1983 that he would not seek re-election to the Senate, there was some speculation that Houston real-estate tycoon Walter Mischer had told Tower, whom he had backed for years, that if U.S. Rep. Kent Hance of Lubbock entered the race, Mischer would go with Hance.

There was more speculation about the possibility that Tower believed he could not win re-election, having pulled out a squeaker in 1978 over former U.S. Rep. Bob Krueger in an election in which Texas had elected its first Republican governor, oilman Bill Clements, in this century. Ever since his 1978 defeat, Krueger had been traveling the state, campaigning for a second chance to run against Tower in 1984. Krueger worked particularly hard courting the vote of the emerging Mexican-American leadership in south Texas. Despite his conservative voting record on social issues while in Congress (1974-78), Krueger worked to convince these young leaders that they would have a favored place in the determination of his policies if he reached the Senate.

Lloyd Doggett, meanwhile, had served in the Texas Senate since 1973. A former student leader at the University of Texas and a trial lawyer, Doggett, 36, came from the mold that had formed leaders of Texas government for several generations.

But Doggett's career in the Texas Senate proved him different. From the first, he showed a compassion for the poor, the disabled, the elderly, women, blacks, Mexican-Americans—a rare quality in an Anglo Texas state senator. Because the only progressive action that proves successful in most cases in the Texas legislature is a negative action, Lloyd Doggett became an expert and accomplished debater in killing bills that would make bad state law worse for the constituencies he championed.

In addition, Doggett was the author of the state's Sunset Act, which created a review process for all state agencies. These agencies, on a rotating basis, must appear before a Sunset Commission and be accountable to the state senate in order to justify past performance and the agency's continuing existence. A review of the Public Utility Commission led to key reforms in that agency, including a public counsel for consumers, and provoked the resignation of commission members in favor of appointees with an orientation more favorable to consumers. In 1983, Doggett co-sponsored the creation of a state human rights commission, citing the abdication of Reagan's Civil Rights Commission.

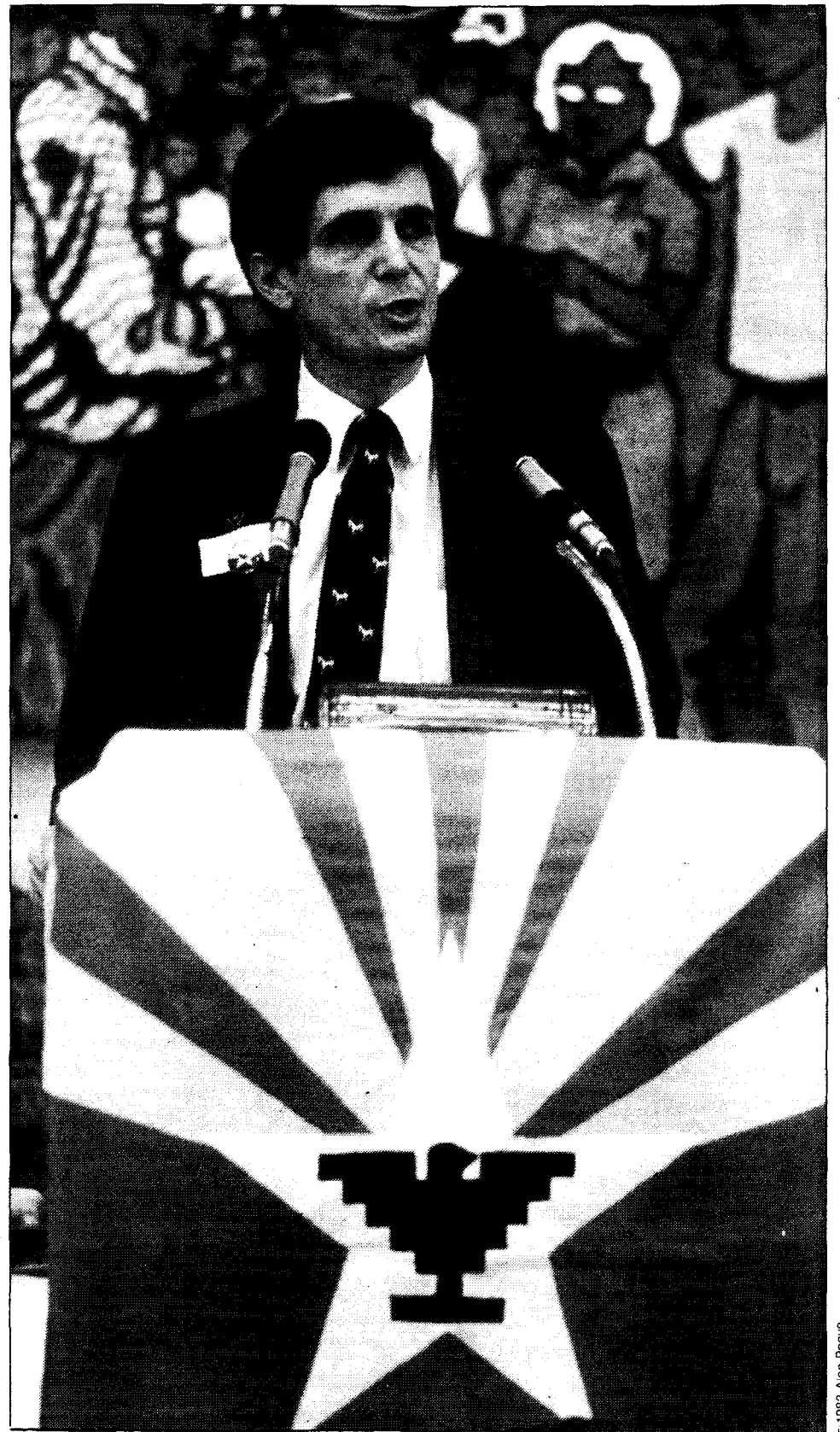
When Doggett announced his intention to run for the U.S. Senate, prior to Tower's resignation, he was given little chance, and the conventional wisdom was that Doggett was running to achieve statewide name recognition in order to run for another statewide seat in the future. Doggett, however, began campaigning in earnest through the summer and fall of 1983, meeting with constituent groups whose interests he had represented in the state senate.

In a two-person race, Krueger was conceded the traditional, conservative, largely rural Democratic right flank and

IN THE NATION

TEXAS

Doggett victory marks power shift



Lloyd Doggett's victory is a victory of a coalition of constituencies.

Doggett claimed parts of the urban, labor, black and Mexican-American votes. But after Ken Hance entered the race in the fall of 1983, the equation changed dramatically. He had been one of the leading Southern "Boll Weevils" supporting Reagan's budget program in 1981 and '82. Hance had co-sponsored the 1981 tax package endorsed by Reagan and had an 81 percent approval rating of the Conservative Coalition for his congressional votes in 1981.

Hance began to chip away at Krueger's money and support from the right, while Doggett worked on the left. Krueger, the acknowledged front runner, tried to be all things to all people and, therefore, could not respond adequately to Doggett's attacks on his congressional record on social welfare legislation nor to Hance's assertions that Krueger was soft on undocumented workers.

By the eve of the May 5 primary, Hance had garnered a great deal of conservative Democratic support, including endorsements by all but three of the state's major dailies (two of those going

to Krueger, one to Doggett). He had also managed to pull in corporate and oil money originally thought to be Krueger's. Doggett also had upset the conventional wisdom that said progressive Democrats in Texas cannot raise money. Doggett and Hance poured money into TV ads to blanket this large state during the last two weeks of the campaign, while Krueger, having spent a great deal shoring up his state network the past year, came up a little short.

Doggett's ads portrayed him as the champion of the little man and woman. Hance attacked Krueger and Doggett for favoring blanket amnesty for undocumented workers (which they don't) and for advancing civil liberties for gays and lesbians (who shouldn't be allowed to teach, says Hance). Fanning the fires of jingoism, a Hance ad declared, "If you're having difficult times, you don't invite somebody over for dinner if you don't have enough to feed your own family. You have to take care of your own first."

In the closest three-person race in Texas

Continued on page 8

Texas

Continued from preceding page

as history, 2,000 votes separated Hance in first place from Krueger in third, with 1,458,000 people voting. A poll taken by

the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project showed that Doggett had been able to cut into Krueger's Mexican-American vote, taking 45.3 percent of the Hispanic vote to Krueger's 45.1 percent. Doggett received 28.4 percent of the non-Hispanic vote. A large portion of that was supplied by the black electorate, which gave Doggett 65 percent of its vote. A record black voter turnout in urban

areas, ignited by Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, proved pivotal to Doggett's second-place finish. In addition, the voter registration drives in the Rio Grande Valley and urban areas by the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project and by the Industrial Areas Foundation groups worked in Doggett's favor, bringing many formerly disenfranchised Mexican-American voters to the polls.

For the June 4 primary, the issues were clear-cut. Hance continued to run on the amnesty question. The old Democratic Party establishment began to line up behind him, including former Gov. Dolph Briscoe, Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby, financier Jess Hay and former candidate Krueger. Texas House Speaker Gib Lewis extolled the virtues of Kent Hance as those of a "mainstream" Texas Democrat, moderate on economic issues, conservative on social issues.

Shortly after Krueger's defection to Hance's camp, liberal state Sen. Oscar Mauzy of Dallas alleged that Krueger, while vacationing in Acapulco, had been promised by Hance's backers that they would take care of Krueger's campaign debt. "That's traditional in Texas," Mauzy said. "The power structure operates that way." They could not afford to lose the farm—to have Doggett as a party standard-bearer with Hightower in the wings.

While Hance got Krueger's endorsement, Doggett got most of Krueger's Mexican-American support, including that of San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros and League of United Latin American Citizens leader Ruben Bonilla. Rep. Jim Wright joined the Doggett camp, calling Doggett a mainstream Democrat, as opposed to Hance's Boll Weevil past.

Doggett made sure to draw the ideological divisions between himself and Hance as clearly as possible. He campaigned on Hance's votes against Social Security measures and let Hance's opposition to amnesty bring straggling Mexican-American voters into the Doggett camp.

In the June 2 runoff, Doggett received 75.5 percent of the Hispanic vote, which turned out at a 3.4 percent higher rate than did non-Hispanic Democrats. According to the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, Krueger's endorsement of Hance had less effect on the runoff than Hance's amnesty stand or the endorsements of local Mexican-American leaders. In 66 precincts that had previously given Krueger over 50 percent of their vote, Doggett carried 75.9 percent of the runoff vote.

While Hance scored 60, 70 and 80 percent victories in some west Texas counties, Doggett carried every urban area, with the exception of Lubbock and Amarillo in Hance's west Texas congressional district. Doggett scored 68 percent of the vote in San Antonio, 70 percent in Dallas, 65 percent in Houston and 71 percent in McAllen in the Rio Grande Valley.

The significance of the Doggett victory lies in the fact that the mainstream Texas Democrat can no longer be defined as the "good ol' boy" with a little oil and some land. Mainstream Texas Democrats now resemble more closely mainstream Democrats in the rest of the country—labor, women, browns, blacks, the poor, the elderly, those favoring progressive social legislation, the nuclear freeze voters.

The Doggett victory must be considered a victory of a coalition of constituencies. Hightower might have been able to carry the state in 1982 without a solid state organization by virtue of his prowess as a stump speaker. But, with various popular coalitions, Hightower put together a progressive network, and it has served Doggett, a good floor debater but a poor stump speaker, well. So this is not the victory of the maverick former Sen. Ralph Yarborough, talking the people's language, bucking the establishment through personal charm and persuasion. This is a victory for a new power in Texas Democratic politics.

And it bodes well for the November race against Phil Gramm and against Ronald Reagan. Kent Hance and the old guard could not have mustered much voter enthusiasm in opposing a former Boll Weevil ally and a president whose policies Hance had supported. Doggett will appeal to the electorate necessary to defeat both Gramm and Reagan in the state. It could mean a huge difference in Texas after years of underdevelopment. And, given Texas' large role in the national elections, it could also mean a great deal for the future of the country.

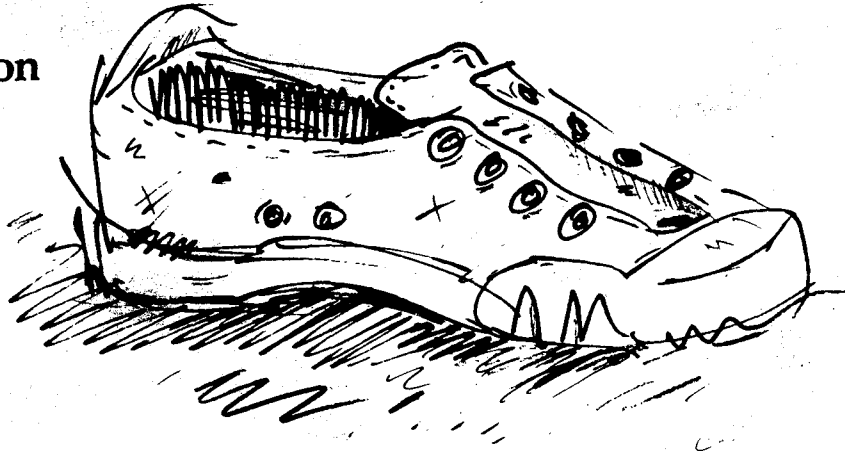
Geoffrey Rips is editor of the *Texas Observer*.

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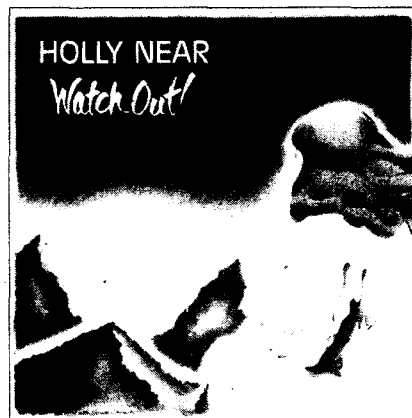
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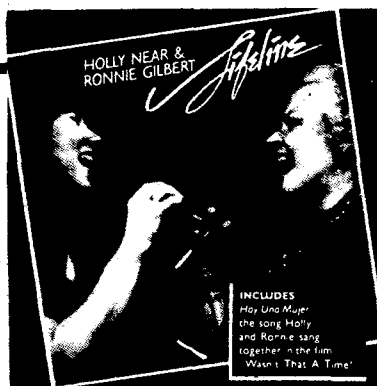
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VOTER REGISTRATION



Paul Cornstock

Guy Costello of the Chicago Coalition for Voter Registration.

By Joan Walsh

CHICAGO

Vote groups find barriers on way to polls

THE CONVICTION THAT expanding the shrunken U.S. electorate is the key to Ronald Reagan's defeat has caused a boom in voter registration and education projects around the country. But many groups are finding that the first step in getting non-voters to the polls isn't registration but litigation, to lift the restrictions on where and how citizens may register and vote.

In the most recent round of registration battling, Illinois citizen groups won a major victory last week when the state Board of Elections handed down an unexpectedly liberal interpretation of the state's new deputy registrar law. The product of legal battles during the aggressive voter registration campaigns of the 1982 gubernatorial race and the 1983 Chicago mayoral drive, the legislation requires local election boards to certify a "reasonable number" of volunteer deputy registrars from schools, churches, labor unions and "bona fide civic groups" in jurisdictions around the state.

Previously, Illinois registration laws were among the strictest in the country, outside of the notorious Southern states. Most registration was limited to designated precinct sites, and while volunteer registrars could legally be deputized, they came from lists drawn up by county leadership—an unencouraging prospect for would-be reformers in machine-controlled Cook County.

The usual process was to ask election officials to visit a site to register voters, but the large number of requests in 1982 and 1983 led to an increased number of conflicts between community groups and election officials and legal battles over where registration could occur and who could be deputized.

Nevertheless, the effort resulted in more than 100,000 new voters, most of them black and Hispanic, behind Adlai Stevenson's near-miss in the governor's race, and nearly that number for Harold Washington's victorious mayoral campaign. It also created a political base for legislative reform, although in the end the Democratic assembly leadership weakened the original deputization bill by excluding civic group representatives from the process. But a compromise with Republican Gov. James Thompson dropped a provision for mandatory access to state offices by registrars, in exchange for deputizing community group volunteers (Thompson had his own voter registration strategy, which involved deputizing Chamber of Commerce and

Rotary Club members to sign up Republicans). With Thompson's amendatory veto, the bill became law in December 1983.

From there the battle shifted to the state Board of Elections, which was charged with clarifying the law's murkier provisions—what constitutes a bona fide civic group, where deputy registrars could operate, how to arrive at a "reasonable number" of deputies per jurisdiction. The Association of Illinois Election Officials lobbied hard for a narrow definition of civic groups, as well as to limit the number of deputies and where they could work. Chicago Election Commission chair Michael Lavelle, a machine appointee unpopular with the city's reform movement, proposed a conservative formula limiting the number of registrars per civic group and restricting their operation to fixed locations in the city.

But voter registration advocates, most notably the 90-group Chicago Coalition for Voter Registration, prevailed. With testimony at public hearings and aggressive lobbying of board members, they countered the state election officials' opposition. "We got basically everything we needed from the board," said Guy Costello of the coalition.

On the advice of their attorneys, the board members supported a broad definition of civic groups and the right for deputy registrars to operate virtually anywhere, a boon to plans that rely on door-to-door and housing project registration. And while it didn't define a "reasonable number" of registrars per jurisdiction, since that would vary widely throughout the state, it endorsed a set of guidelines for deputizing volunteers that came down on the side of more deputies, not less. Should clerks around the state ignore the guidelines and limit the number of deputies arbitrarily, "it would be a very easy lawsuit," said coalition attorney Tom Johnson.

Arbitrary process.

Even with the new law, it's not particularly easy to register to vote in Illinois.

"The procedures should be uniform, and uniformly easy."

**—Lani Guirnier
NAACP attorney**

In several states, including Wisconsin, Oregon and Maine, voters may register at the same time as they vote; some 20 other states use mail-in methods. But among states that rely on deputies, Illinois is unique in establishing deputizing guidelines that encourage volunteer efforts.

Where deputization is left to the discretion of local election officials, the results are usually arbitrary and uneven, with many deputies in one county, for example, and none in an adjoining jurisdiction. Attorneys for a coalition of voter registration projects—including Project Vote, Human SERVE and several NAACP efforts—are preparing lawsuits against the states of Michigan, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Colorado demanding liberalized and uniform deputy procedures. A judgement is awaited on a similar case in the city of St. Louis.

While Michigan is notable for one registration reform, allowing voters to sign up at the motor vehicle department, its deputization process is criticized as unnecessarily complicated and arbitrary. Some 1,500 separate jurisdictions—cities, counties, villages and townships—have their own deputization rules, and they vary widely. "These procedures should be uniform, and uniformly easy," said NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorney Lani Guirnier.

In the South, the legacy of segregating and disenfranchising blacks persists, de-

spite the provisions of the Voting Rights Act. But the act's 1982 amendments gave blacks an additional tool to use in reforming archaic, discriminatory voting laws. Under the new act, voting procedures can be challenged not only if they were established with the intent to discriminate against blacks and exclude them from participation, but even if they have those effects.

Guirnier brought suit against the state of Georgia earlier this month, charging that restrictive voter registration procedures—including courthouse only registration and limited use of deputies—correlates with low registration among black voters. In Toombs County, where registration is limited to the courthouse that is only open during business hours Monday through Friday, black registration is 43 percent. In Coweta County, with similar procedures, black registration is 33 percent. And even in counties that deputize volunteers, registration is usually limited to county-chosen sites.

"These are arbitrary, non-uniform procedures," Guirnier said. "And with the Voting Rights Act, if you can show that minorities have less opportunity to participate in the political process, the state has a responsibility to eliminate the lingering effects of discrimination—it must take affirmative action to bring them into the process." Similar lawsuits are planned in Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Mississippi and Virginia.

First Amendment rights?

Newer voter registration methods are encountering new problems. Project Vote, which registers public aid recipients at unemployment and welfare offices and food distribution sites, has repeatedly faced restrictions on its access to such areas. But it has won judgments against Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Missouri on the grounds that such restrictions infringe on volunteers' First Amendment rights. Negotiations continue with Illinois officials to guarantee access to state offices.

The Human SERVE Fund, which also registers public aid recipients but focuses on service providers registering their clients, has faced all the same obstacles, along with some unique ones. In Boston, city clerks' resisted deputizing Human SERVE and other volunteers, arguing that volunteer registrars threatened their jobs and would likely do substandard work. Complicating the issue is that the same union, Service Employees International Union 285, represents both clerks and some of the human service employees that would register clients. Local 285 officially supports Human SERVE—its Boston operation is located in the 285 office—but many of its election department members do not. For now, the Board of Elections is refusing to deputize agency employees and announced last week it would deputize volunteers to work at 21 fixed sites around the city.

In Michigan, Human SERVE has come in for specific attack from the legislature, which this session passed bills prohibiting public employees from participating in the campaign. But the law won't go into effect until October, too late to stop the group's 1984 campaign, notes Michigan coordinator Roseanne Handler, and it will likely face a court challenge.

Although voting-rights advocates are winning many of the legal and legislative battles they've fought, time and money spent in courtrooms and legislatures are resources not spent registering voters. And as November approaches, that will come to seem more costly. On a national level, U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) has introduced legislation providing for postcard registration in federal elections, but even his office concedes its not likely to go anywhere this year.

"Politicians know who their constituents are, and they don't want to introduce 'factor X' by expanding registration," notes Human SERVE's Cindy Williams. "But, hopefully, the public action around the issue this year will force them into it."

Missile decision: a sly trick on the peace movement

By Diana Johnstone

AMSTERDAM

BETTER NOT COUNT ON THE legendary little Dutch boy to plug the dike and save us all from a flood of nuclear weapons. After careful study, the Dutch government's much awaited and highly ambitious decision on whether or not to accept NATO cruise missiles turns out to be a sly trick on the peace movement.

The Dutch government's June 1 announcement was variously reported as a freeze, a postponement or a step toward missile deployment. At first, confusion was widespread, even in the Dutch peace movement. Then pessimism took over.

"It smells like deployment," said Wim Bartels of the influential Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV), which was nevertheless doing its best to find something to be optimistic about.

More radical wings of the peace movement and the left parties were more blunt. "I think you have to say we've lost," said Lieke Thesingh of the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP). "This was a defeat."

She described the government decision as a "very complicated trick." "It's a deployment decision," she said, "but so unclear that we ourselves at first thought it might mean non-deployment."

What happened was that Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, known as a skilled artisan of compromise, designed a decision that members of his own Christian Democratic Party, under pressure from the peace movement, could vote for in parliament and say they thought they were still holding out a chance for non-deployment. Thus on June 13, the parliament approved the government decision by a 79 to 71 vote.

The following are the main features of the decision:

- The actual decision by the cabinet is put off until Nov. 1, 1985. It will be the basis of a draft bill to be submitted to the Dutch parliament on Jan. 1, 1986. Contracts for construction of the cruise missile base will be made at that time.

Missile deployment would obviously have to come after construction of the base (presumably in Woensdrecht, near the Belgian border). But this does not necessarily imply any delay in NATO's original deployment schedule. Holland has always been set at the tail end of the NATO timetable, after Belgium, with missiles to be deployed there in 1987 and 1988. The new decision specifies that the December 1988 deadline will be respected.

In short, it is not so much deployment itself as the official decision to deploy that is being put off until the last moment. This is the straw thrown to the peace movement to grasp at. IKV chairman Mient Jan Faber has welcomed the delay as allowing more time to persuade parliamentarians to oppose the missiles. But is time working in favor of the peace movement? This is not certain, especially since the government's decision is calculated to divide and weaken anti-missile forces. But the delay does leave time for a policy change should the Democrats defeat Reagan this fall.

- The November 1985 final deployment decision is contingent on what the

two superpowers do in the meantime. Three cases are envisaged. First, if by then the U.S. and the USSR have reached an arms limitation agreement on Euro-missiles, the Netherlands will accept "its share" of cruise missiles as determined by the Soviet-American accord. Second, if by Nov. 1, 1985, no such accord has been reached and the Soviet Union has meanwhile gone ahead with deployment of its own SS20 Euromissiles, Holland will take its full allotment of 48 cruise missiles, as decided by NATO in December 1979.

The third possibility was not spelled out in the government statement, but this can be deduced from it. Suppose November 1985 rolls around and neither have the U.S. and the USSR reached an arms control agreement nor has the USSR increased its SS20 deployment. What then? This purely hypothetical implication led some observers, such as William Drozdiak of the *Washington Post*, to interpret the Dutch government decision as an offer to the Soviet Union to cancel deployment in return for a freeze of SS20s.

In fact, no such deal was formally proposed. When asked, cabinet members disagreed on what to do in the case of an SS20 freeze. Anyway, Dutch peace movement leaders consider it preposterous.

A freeze between Soviet SS20s and cruise missiles in Holland is "as if there were a strategic balance between Holland and the Soviet Union," said Wim Bartels, who called the idea "ridiculous."

Bartels pointed out that while up to now the Dutch government had retained its right to an open-ended decision for or against cruise missiles, the conditions now set on the November 1985 decision made it "closed as in a computer." He said the government had taken "a major step in the wrong direction."

Not seizing opportunities.

Similar views were expressed by Ton van Hoek of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, which has recently shed Leninism for feminism and joined a "Green" coalition running for the European parliament. Holland was throwing away its opportunity to play an independent role by making its final decision dependent on what the Russians and Americans do. Van Hoek believes that "small countries like Holland, Rumania or Hungary have greater possibilities" than the superpowers to break out of the arms race, because their moves would not immediately upset the global balance. "Our main criticism of this government is that it did not seize the opportunities it had," he said.

Dutch failure to clearly say "no" to the American cruise missiles is not likely to make things easier for Warsaw Pact countries like Hungary and Rumania that are trying to refuse a Soviet arms buildup in response to NATO missiles.

- The Dutch government decision attempts to turn peace movement protests against the Soviet Union, while putting no pressure on the U.S. Indeed, under the terms of the new agreement, all Washington has to do to get Holland to accept its quota of 48 cruise missiles is not to reach an arms control agreement with Moscow, while goading the Russians into setting out more SS20s by stepping up cruise and Pershing 2 deployment in West Germany. This is precisely what is happening.



THE NETHERLANDS

Dutch peace movement leaders note that the Soviet Union has long since endorsed the idea of a nuclear weapons freeze—but between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, not between the USSR and Holland. They further note that Soviet Marshal Dimitri Ustinov had already warned that SS20 deployment will be linked to the cruise and Pershing 2 deployments. The U.S. has recently accelerated its own Euromissile deployment timetable, and the Russians can be expected to follow suit.

The pro-missile Liberal Party leader Ed Nijpels hailed the Dutch decision for putting "the ball in the Soviet court." Thus it is clear that in 18 months, there will be a chorus of politicians blaming the Russians for having forced the Dutch to accept 48 cruise missiles by increasing the number of SS20s.

Prime Minister Lubbers told *Newsweek* that "our decision has deprived the Soviet Union of a propaganda tool. It is not the Dutch who are embarrassed, but the Soviets."

So far, the Soviet press reaction has shown no interest in a Dutch-Soviet freeze, instead denouncing pressure on the USSR to disarm unilaterally. Moscow is particularly unlikely to make a major unilateral armament concession to influence in some unspecified way political forces it deeply distrusts in a country it regards—rightly—as a NATO core country.

Dutch observers point out that such a concession is especially unlikely since Holland is a country without a single bilateral treaty of its own with the Soviet Union except on trade and culture; all its political and military relations with Moscow go through NATO. The Russians have always been skeptical of the ability of Western peace movements to influence

policy, and this should clinch their pessimism. It seems particularly improbable that a government as cautious as Chernenko's would bring itself in the next 18 months to make a bold and generous gesture to help out a peace movement that has aroused Soviet suspicion by its campaign on behalf of "unofficial" peace movements in Eastern Europe.

- The new Dutch government scheme calls for the eventual November 1985 missile decision to be fixed in a bilateral treaty with the U.S. This clever innovation will legally bind subsequent governments to the missile deployment.

- The treaty is apparently going to deal with "control aspects" of the cruise missile deployment. This is perhaps the cleverest and most subtle item on the new Dutch agenda. It seems well-designed to give politicians in the divided governing Christian Democratic Party, but also in the Labor Party (Holland's largest, currently in the opposition), an arms control bone to chew assiduously to convince their voters that they are doing something to protect the Netherlands from nuclear war. In coming months, Dutch leaders can be expected to try to shift public debate to these obscure "control aspects." Instead of stopping American nuclear missiles, the Dutch can take pride in being the first to control them.

One sign of this policy shift was IKV chairman Faber's surprise statement during a TV interview on June 19. "The Netherlands must be prepared to help the NATO allies if necessary and deploy some of these weapons temporarily within the framework of an agreement to remove nuclear weapons from Western and Eastern Europe altogether," he said.

Faber's statement is a reversal of the decade-long IKV campaign to remove nuclear weapons from the Netherlands.

IN THE WORLD



Demonstrators at a December 1983 anti-cruise rally discuss how the protest should go.

Many observers here speculate that Faber may be pursuing a political career in the Labor Party.

• The decision sweeps under the rug Holland's controversial "nuclear tasks" in NATO (basically, the Dutch manning of nuclear weapons on West German soil), promising to "review" them after Jan. 1, 1986.

Splitting the movement.

The decision is already splitting the peace movement over how to interpret it. Privately, everyone agrees it is terrible. But publicly, IKV wants to accentuate the positive. Mient Jan Faber stresses the Dutch break with the NATO schedule and the time gained for the peace movement to change the politicians' minds. The Communist Party agrees with this approach.

There are clear reasons for it. IKV hopes that a favorable interpretation of the Dutch situation will encourage peace movements in other countries to keep up

Continued on page 22

Dutch red-green alliance wins seats

By Diana Johnstone

AMSTERDAM

HOLLAND HAS THE HIGHEST percentage of housewives of any advanced Western country. Oddly enough, this fact helps explain why a "red-green alliance" of radicals, ecologists, pacifists and the world's first feminist Communist Party recently successfully ran in the European parliamentary elections on a unique platform calling

for a 25-hour work week; on June 17 it was announced that the Green Progressive Accord captured two seats in the elections.

Elsewhere in Europe, a 35-hour week is the vanguard demand. In the Netherlands, the women's movement originated the demand for the 25-hour week. It was put forward by feminists in the three far-left parliamentary parties, the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP), the Political Party of Radicals (PPR) and the Communist Party of the Netherlands (CPN), who joined with some new "Greens" (inspired by German Green success) to present a common list of candidates and a common program in the European elections.

The idea behind the 35-hour demand is to spread available paid work among more people and provide jobs for the growing number of unemployed. Holland not only has a high unemployment rate—18 percent—among job seekers, especially youth, but also has the highest rate of jobless women who are not counted because they have never sought employment. More than a million jobs for women would have to be created in the Netherlands just to bring the country into line with the rest of the European community.

The red-green demand for a 25-hour work week for those in the lower half income bracket calls attention to the need to spread the work around. Also, leftists believe that bringing women into the salaried work force is a necessary cultural step toward progressive, socialist policies.

Holland has so many housewives because it was historically the bourgeois country *par excellence* that for centuries lived off trade and colonies. Thus its industrial development was relatively late and limited. Holland stayed out of World War I, which helped "emancipate" women in combatant countries by bringing them into men's jobs.

In the boom that followed in the '20s, the trade union movement finally grew in the Netherlands, fighting for a "family income" for male workers. It is symptomatic of Holland's rarefied industrialization that the first workers to organize a union were the diamond cutters.

With all those housewives around to wait on their male colleagues, politically active working women accumulated a lot of grievances. These came out in the open as the women's movement developed in the '70s, growing into a mass movement around the successful campaign to legalize abortion in 1974-75. Women from the various left parties met and encouraged each other in the abortion campaign, then took their revolt back into their own parties, with particularly devastating effects on the Communist Party.

The revolt began in the Pacifist Socialist Party, where forthright defense of justice and principle is a specialty. The contagion spread from PSP to Communist women, whose party was far more stodgy and authoritarian. By getting together in the women's movement, Communist women broke the iron rule of Stalinist "democratic centralism" that forbids "horizontal" communication between Party members outside their local section.

But the CPN could not expel its feminists when they were in leadership positions in a mass movement. To try to calm the rebellion, the old Stalinist leaders dubbed themselves "horizontals" and authorized "horizontal" communication, within limits, while still trying to reassert their authority.

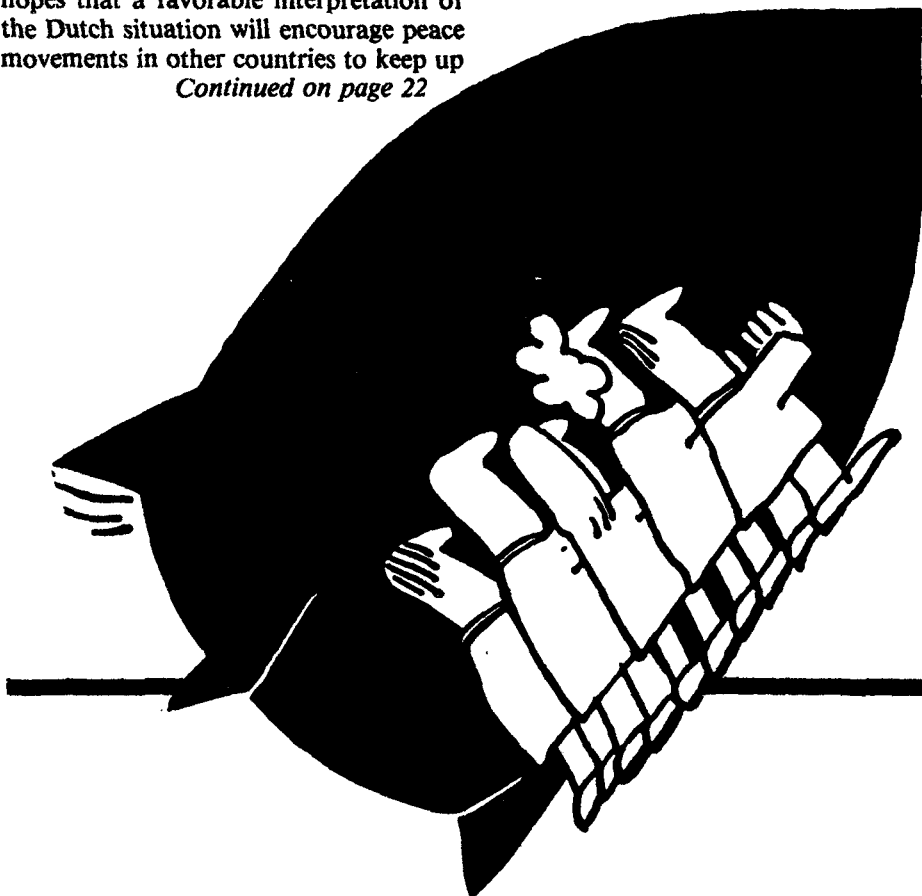
But the "horizontals" were virtually overthrown at the CPN congress in February. Many of them left the party when they saw it was abandoning Marxism-Leninism and started a new organization called the "League of Marxist-Leninist Communists." Meanwhile, the party members carried on a long debate on the party's "sources of inspiration," scrapping Leninism while retaining a reference to Marxism that put it on a footing with feminism.

The final resolution said the CPN carried on with "Marxist insights and theories on the functioning of capitalist society and the necessity of revolutionary struggle for socialism" as well as with "insights coming from feminism on the existence of antagonism between the sexes in society and the struggle against the oppression of women which stems from it." The party also declared itself "open to new progressive insights" and revolutionary theories stemming from new struggles.

This newly "feminist" Communist Party then joined the Green Progressive Accord, formed with the PSP and the PPR for the simple and practical reason that alone none of the three had much chance of winning a seat in the European Parliament, but together they were able to win two. The CPN won three seats in the Dutch parliament in September 1982 with 1.8 percent of the vote, compared to the 10 percent it used to get right after World War II.

The PSP, which won three seats with 2.3 percent of the vote in 1982, was founded in 1957 as a "third way" between the Labor Party and the Communist Party, which were then committed to opposite sides of the Cold War. The PSP was a party for people made "politically homeless" by the Cold War. It was strongly anti-militarist from the start, and has always been in parliament. Its leaders were known as rigorously moral

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE LAST primaries and the national convention is a crucial time for the Democratic nominee. In the last six presidential races, those Democrats who were able to consolidate their forces before the general election won, while those who failed to do so were defeated—in two cases, by landslides.

John Kennedy in 1960, Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and Jimmy Carter in 1976 were able to unite their party behind them prior to the election. But Hubert Humphrey in 1968, George McGovern in 1972 and Jimmy Carter in 1980 were not.

Walter Mondale, who now appears sure to be the nominee, is doing what he can to emulate Carter in 1976 and to avoid the fate of Carter in 1980. But he may not succeed, even though the Democrats are not divided this year by any single overriding issue and are united in their opposition to a second term for Ronald Reagan.

Prior to or during the convention, Mondale must make two major decisions that will shape his candidacy and unite or divide the party: he must choose a vice-presidential running mate and decide on a party platform. In both cases, he is treading on minefields.

Choosing a veep.

In the past, Democratic nominees chose vice presidents with a view toward balancing their ticket regionally and politically. It was important to do so both in order to unite interest groups within the party and to draw together a popular coalition for the general election. Franklin Roosevelt chose Texan John Nance Garner in 1932 in order to secure Southern support for his nomination and to wield a regionally balanced ticket in the fall. In 1944, with the country and party moving to the right, he abandoned Vice-President Henry Wallace for moderate Sen. Harry Truman.

In recent elections, two new considerations have emerged. Constituency groups within the Democratic Party—specifically, women and blacks—have urged that one of their number be selected as the vice-presidential candidate. And voters, mindful of recent presidential assassinations and resignations, have become more insistent that the vice-presidential choice be qualified to be president. (Truman did not appear remotely qualified for president in 1944.)

The two most brilliant Democratic choices were Kennedy's choice of Johnson in 1960, which united the party and allowed him to win Texas in the election, and Carter's choice of Mondale in 1976, which united liberals behind his candidacy and helped Carter in the general election. Political analysts credit Mondale's impressive showing in his debate with his Republican counterpart Sen. Robert Dole for swinging votes to Carter.

In 1984, Mondale faces one problem of his own in choosing a vice president. Having already been pegged as the "special interest" candidate, he cannot appear to be following the dictate of any interest group in making his choice. If he decides to choose a woman, he will probably have to do so before the convention so that he does not appear to be bowing to pressure from demonstrating feminists. Or if he bypasses Sen. Gary Hart, he cannot appear to do so because of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's veto.

Bentsen and Hart.

Prior to Hart's victory in the New Hampshire primary, Mondale's first choice was Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, a moderate by Southern standards who has been to oil companies what Sen. Henry Jackson was to defense contractors. According to one former Mondale staff person, the campaign had assembled a 100-page report on Bentsen, while only devoting 10 pages to other hopefuls like Arkansas Sen. Dale Bumpers.

Bentsen's chief attraction was regional. Mondale figures that he must win Texas in order to defeat Reagan. And while



Walter Mondale: a candidate in search of the center lane

Bentsen is a cipher in the North—his 1976 presidential campaign was an abysmal failure—he has the best political organization in Texas.

But Mondale's rumored preference for Bentsen has raised hackles among his supporters. Besides being both dull and conservative, Bentsen could also fail to help Mondale with the political independents who were attracted to Hart in the primary and whose support he must have in November. The Mondale campaign is now considering three alternatives to Bentsen: another Southern Democrat, a woman or Hart. (Chrysler President Lee Iacocca has been urged upon Mondale, but Mondale and Iacocca seem to have little interest in each other.)

The National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Women's Political Caucus, House Speaker Tip O'Neill

and other liberal Democrats are pushing for Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, a tough former prosecutor from a white, working-class district in Queens. Ferraro, they argue, would add female and ethnic votes, and would also generate interest in the Democratic ticket. By choosing her, Mondale would show that he is willing to take chances.

But Ferraro, the leading female candidate, doesn't take her own prospects too seriously (her choice is a Mondale-Hart ticket). And there are good reasons for believing that Mondale will not choose her. As a three-term member of Congress who has never chaired a House committee, has never drafted and led the fight for an important bill and has not been the leader of a national movement, she lacks the obvious resume of a president. Her candidacy would be likely to focus atten-

tion away from Reagan toward her qualifications and Mondale's judgment in picking her.

While Ferraro might attract ethnic and Catholic Democrats, she might not increase women's vote for Mondale. Women who would base their vote for Mondale on his choice of a woman vice president might vote for him anyway.

Among the Southern Democratic alternatives to Bentsen, Bumpers now appears to have edged ahead of the more conservative Sen. Sam Nunn and Florida Gov. Robert Graham, known for his state's leadership in electrocuting prisoners. Even though he was a key opponent to the 1978 Labor Law Reform bill, Bumpers has a liberal record, especially for the South. He is also a dynamic speaker. And he might attract independent as well as Southern voters. But Bumpers may be too

liberal to attract Southern voters, and his own state delivers only six electoral votes.

The choice of Hart is being pushed both by congressional Democrats and by party insiders like Ted Van Dyk, the president of the Center for National Policy. If Mondale chooses Hart, he would go a long way toward unifying the convention and would vastly strengthen his ticket's appeal among independents. He would also demonstrate his independence of "special interests," namely the AFL-CIO.

But Hart has several strikes against him. He would not help the ticket regionally—Reagan is expected to take the West in any case. Mondale may not be willing to bury the hatchet with his former rival (whose chances for 1988 will be improved by his selection). And while AFL-CIO sources insist that Kirkland is staying out of the vice-presidential selection, his dislike of Hart may influence Mondale. (One labor official told me in regard to the choice of Hart, "We want to get Ronald Reagan out of the White House—whatever it takes.")

Mondale is using the selection process—prospective veeps are being invited to Mondale's Minnesota home for interviews—to appease blacks and women. He will probably see at least four women and three black prospects before the convention. Yet he will probably pick either Hart or a Southerner. Don't count Benton out.

The imperial candidate.

Every four years Democrats waste nearly a million dollars holding hearings for and writing a platform that few voters read and that candidates ignore. But the platform is important for one positive and one negative reason. Positively, it serves as a means to unite groups within the party and to assure them (often without justification) that the candidate, if elected, will heed their concerns. Negatively, it can furnish ammunition for an opposition candidate looking for some unpopular program to pin on the Democrat. Candidates must therefore proceed carefully—trying to include programs that important constituencies want, but omitting programs that might cause embarrassment in the fall.

The Mondale campaign has gone out of its way to prevent embarrassments in the platform—to a degree that may alienate some of the Democrats' constituent groups.

Through Democratic National Committee (DNC) chairman Charles Manatt and Platform Committee chair Ferraro, Mondale has had firm control of the platform process since it began in January. When selecting a platform coordinator, Ferraro picked Mondale's candidate, Harvard law professor Susan Estrich, over the candidate backed by the seven other presidential contenders. One disgruntled DNC official describes Mondale as an "imperial candidate" because of his organization's insistence on "total control" over every aspect of the platform.

Mondale's goal has been to create a platform that was vague and contained no specific legislative commitments—"thematic" has been the favorite Mondale word. He has been ably assisted in this by Ferraro, who even tried to eliminate specific support for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) from the platform.

The document that Estrich and Ferraro unveiled last week for consideration of the platform drafting subcommittee was longer and more detailed than the Mondale camp originally wanted, but it focused primarily on the vices of Reagan rather than the virtues of Mondale and, except for the ERA, contained no specific legislative proposals. It carefully skirted a position on the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill and did not endorse New York Rep. Ted Weiss' bill outlawing discrimination against gays.

The section on "American Industry in a World Economy" epitomized Mondale's approach to the platform and the upcoming campaign. The term "industrial policy" did not appear. While the platform called for "industrial modernizing agreements," it omitted any mention of a federal development bank.

The proposal for such a bank—a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation—had been the heart of the industrial policy developed by Kirkland and New York financier Felix Rohatyn and contained in a Democratic bill sponsored by Rep. John J. LaFalce. Mondale reportedly fears that the bank would become the target of Republican charges that he favors "big government."

The platform discusses the need for encouraging fair trade between the U.S. and its trading partners, but it omits any mention—oblique or otherwise—of the United Auto Workers' domestic content bill. Even though Mondale sought votes in Michigan and elsewhere on the strength of his support for domestic content, he is unwilling to defend it in the fall against Republican attacks.

The degree to which the Mondale forces have been willing to go to quash specific proposals became evident June 18 when Rep. Tim Wirth, one of the five Hart representatives on the 15-person drafting subcommittee, proposed that the platform endorse the Bradley-Gephardt tax bill, which would simplify income tax returns and make the rates more progressive. Most congressional Democrats back Bradley-Gephardt, which is seen as the Democrats' principal answer to Republican flat tax proposals.

When the subcommittee voted, Wirth's proposal passed eight to seven, because Sen. Pat Moynihan, one of Mondale's eight representatives on the subcommittee, voted with the Hart and Jackson representatives. One of Mondale's operatives rushed to Moynihan's side, and after a heated exchange, succeeded in getting the senator to change his vote. Another vote was taken, and Wirth's proposal lost eight to seven.

Military spending cuts.

Both the Hart and the Jackson campaigns presented alternative platforms. The Hart platform was somewhat superior in organization and emphasis to the Mondale draft, focusing more on what

against Jackson's proposal would show people "that Democrats are not against buying weapons—we just want to buy less than Reagan."

Constituency groups have been treated considerably worse than the Hart and Jackson forces. They were not even given advance copies of the platform draft. One DNC staffer remarked, "It's ironic. Mondale is supposed to be the candidate of the special interests. But in drawing up the platform he's totally ignoring the constituency groups."

It is still unclear how much resistance on the platform the Mondale campaign will encounter in San Francisco. Some labor officials are unhappy with the platform's sidestepping of industrial policy. "We hate to see a pabulum platform," said Bill Holayer, the political director of the Machinists Union.

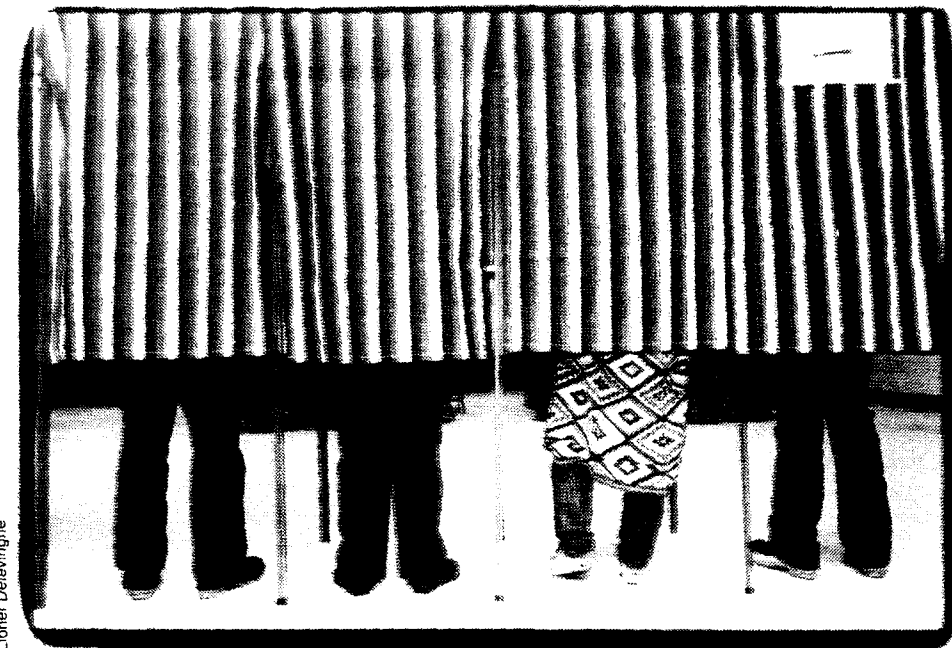
Other labor officials regard the platform with indifference. Asked about the omission of the domestic content bill from the platform, one United Auto Workers official responded, "What's in the platform and what's not in it is unimportant. It's a ritual you have to get past."

But peace and feminist groups and some Jackson supporters see the platform as a test of the party's commitment and are planning to present revisions to the platform from the floor in San Francisco.

Shifting images.

Mondale's problem in San Francisco and afterward is partly one of image. Like former Gov. Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic nominee in 1952 and 1956, he is perceived as "left" by the public and the Republicans, but as a "moderate" or even a "conservative" by many liberals within his own party. This has created immense problems within the party and could lead to his defeat in the fall.

Because party activists outside the labor movement don't see Mondale as "left" or even "liberal," they are less willing to countenance a "pabulum plat-



the Democrats had to offer and not making deficit reduction the first priority of Democratic economic policy. But outside of a pledge not to go to war for Persian Gulf oil, the Hart draft contained only minor political differences from the Mondale submission. And parts of it read like an internal document from the Rand Corp. (For instance, without explaining what MITI is, the Hart platform noted, "Japan's economic success is not so much a function of MITI but rather the consensus and economic philosophy that made MITI possible.")

Jackson's submission diverged from both Mondale's and Hart's, focusing on jobs and unemployment (the Mondale-DNC draft did not contain a jobs bill). It proposed ending military aid to both the *contras* and the Salvadoran government, and cutting military spending by 20 percent over the next five years rather than reducing its projected length of growth.

The Platform Committee is not expected to approve any substantive revisions to the Mondale draft, but the Hart and Jackson revisions may come up at the convention as minority reports. The Mondale campaign is reportedly pleased that he will be able to oppose Jackson's arms cut proposal. According to a Mondale campaign advisor, a convention vote

form" or the choice of Bentsen as vice president. Chris Riddiough, a NOW official, told *In These Times* that she opposed Bentsen because he is "from the conservative wing of the party and not that much different from Mondale in terms of who he would appeal to."

Among the public, however, Mondale is seen as left of center and, worse still, as a captive of left-wing special interest groups. The Republicans will do all they can to magnify this impression.

No combination of internal and external images is more debilitating in a presidential candidate. Mondale could inspire apathy among Democratic activists, and fear or disdain among political independents, who make up one-third of the electorate.

The political virtue of Kennedy in 1960, Carter in 1976 and Hart at his best in the 1984 primaries was that they were able to inspire the party's left while appearing publicly as centrists.

Insofar as Mondale's campaign managers understand this problem, they have to be worried about what will happen in San Francisco. Mondale cannot concede anything to the party's left without publicly appearing to be allied with it. Mondale's situation recalls that of Carter—in 1980, rather than 1976.

Economics on the margins

While the Democratic platform was being drawn up at the Sheraton Hotel, a group of left-wing economists, public officials and lobbyists were meeting at the Washington Plaza Hotel to develop an economic program for the Democrats. The June 18-19 conference on "New Economic Alternatives for Full Employment" was sponsored by the Villers Foundation.

But although the conference participants plan to publicize their proposals at the Democratic convention, they did not expect to have them included in the platform itself.

The conference discussion was focused on a proposal for "Building a Balanced Economy," written by economist Jeff Faux. The speakers included NOW President Judy Goldsmith, former United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser and John Jacob, the president of the Urban League.

Faux' proposals were based on the assumption that full employment must be the focus of any Democratic economic policy. Faux would supplement a large-scale public works program ("There is more than enough useful work to do in the public sector to employ all those who cannot find work in the private sector") with specific steps to hold down inflation and the deficit and to encourage private growth.

Conference participants also discussed the Bradley-Gephardt fair tax bill. Many of them assume that former Vice President Walter Mondale will be defeated in November and that Democrats' main task will be counterposing their own tax bill to the regressive proposals forthcoming from the Reagan administration.

The conference was significant in that it expressed the unity of all the major organizations on the democratic left, from NOW and the Urban League to the Machinists and United Food and Commercial Workers, around the central demand of full employment and the revival of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978. What was disconcerting was the apparent marginality of the conference's proceedings to both the Democrats' platform deliberations and to the national economic debate.

—J.B.J.

EDITORIAL

Democrats must change course in Central America

In this presidential election year nothing more clearly illuminates everything that is wrong and dangerous about the Reagan administration than its policies and activities in regard to Central America. Administration policies have been marked by disregard for the welfare of the peoples of the region and for their national sovereignty, by duplicity about the nature of the insurgency in El Salvador and of the regime in Nicaragua, and by wreckless endangerment of peace throughout the region and of the moral integrity of the nation.

Large-scale military support for the brutal military oligarchy in El Salvador and for the *contras* in Honduras and Costa Rica have combined antidemocratic

policies with violations of international law and civilized standards of international behavior. Most of what the administration has told the American people about the situation in Central America and its causes has been untrue, and most of what it has done has been done against the popular will, even as weakly reflected in Congress.

And yet, despite a popular opinion strong enough to induce the spineless Democratic leadership of the House to deny further funding for Reagan's war against Nicaragua—at least for the moment—the Democratic Party seems to be doing its best to avoid the issue. Most party leaders, including the likely presidential nominee, accept Reagan's definition of

what is at stake in the region. None of the party leaders in Congress question the right of the United States to determine for the people of Central America the kinds of societies they will have. Both leading Democratic presidential candidates have explicitly refused to commit themselves to an end to aid for the military rulers of El Salvador or even for opponents of the Sandinistas.

This is not surprising, for the situation in El Salvador is in large part a result of Carter administration politics, carried to their logical, if extreme, conclusion by Reagan. The extent to which this is true, and also the extent to which the government of the United States has consistently lied to the American people, is brought out in Raymond Bonner's newly-published *Weakness and Deceit: U.S. Policy and El Salvador*. But even Bonner, a reporter for the *New York Times* whose fearless exposure of the truth about conditions in El Salvador led to his reassignment to more innocuous work, tends to obscure the Democrats' complicity, though he provides striking evidence of the continuity in policy between Carter and Reagan.

But the policies carried out by our ruling politicians in behalf of the corporate oligarchy they serve does not reflect the popular will, despite all the manipulation of public opinion by the administration

and the media. Poll after poll has verified this. And there are alternatives available, most notably in the Institute for Policy Studies' *Changing Course: Blueprint for Peace in Central America and the Caribbean* (see John Coatsworth's review, page 18).

Furthermore, for the first time in decades a new voice in the mainstream of American politics is challenging the assumptions of American policy in relation to the Third World in general, and specifically in regard to Central America. That challenge has come from the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who alone among the surviving candidates in the later primaries has spoken out consistently for a new set of principles in foreign policy and for substantial reductions in military spending.

Criticizing the "sham of an election" in El Salvador and calling for a cutoff of military aid to the *contras* around Nicaragua and to the junta in El Salvador, Jackson gained an increasing portion of the vote in the later primaries, despite the fact that he had no chance of winning the nomination. Most of this vote, of course, came from the black community, though

The Mondale forces would prefer not to face the issue of Central America. But they may have to, in order to mobilize constituencies that stayed home in the 1980 election.

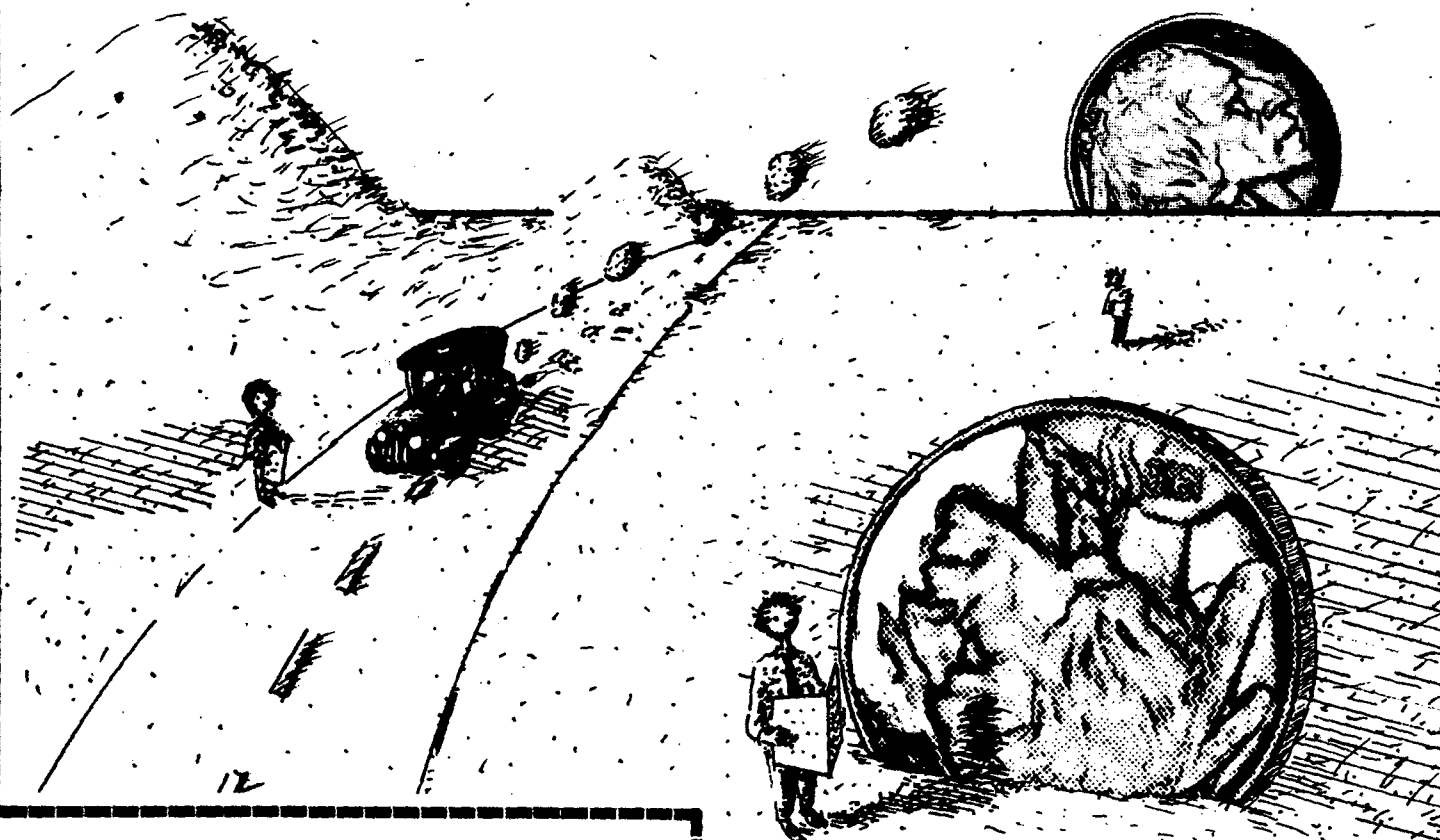
Jackson also won a substantial proportion of Hispanic votes and a significant number of white votes largely on the issue of peace in Central America and disarmament.

In any event, precisely because it is based on the political mobilization of the black community, the Jackson candidacy represents the basis for a sustained left challenge within the Democratic Party. A mobilized black community holds the balance of political power as things stand now, and blacks—who identify more naturally and strongly with the peoples of the Third World than with the corporate giants that dominate it and us—are natural allies of Third World ethnic groups and the other potential members of Jackson's only partially realized rainbow coalition.

So far, Walter Mondale and Gary Hart have taken pleasure in rejecting out of hand Jackson's foreign policy and anti-military proposals to the Democratic platform committee. They have done so to prove their responsibility to the corporate governing party that holds power between elections whether Democrats or Republicans are in office. But we are in an election year and if the Democrats hope to win, they must put together an electoral party capable of mobilizing the constituencies that stayed away from the polls in past years, especially in 1980, when Reagan was elected by the abstention of blacks, Hispanics and low-income workers in general.

Clearly, the Mondale forces would prefer not to have to face the issue of Central America head on. But the opportunity exists for this issue to be confronted now in a way that will constrain Mondale—if elected—to respect the right of self-determination of the people of Central America to a greater degree not only than Reagan, but also than that of his Democratic predecessors.

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HSS4

SO SORRY NOW

ON THE EVE OF THE 208TH ANNIVERSARY of the founding of our great nation, I as an American deeply committed to the noble ideals on which it was established, and on behalf of all decent Americans who feel as I do, offer a profound apology to the peoples of the world for what has happened to those ideals, and for the horrors now being committed in the name of the American nation by those crass traitors, the spiritual descendants of the monarchy of George III now in power.

Within the span of two centuries, the U.S., born in the first great revolutionary upheaval of modern history that challenged the divine right of kings and established the principle of popular democracy—government of, by and for the people—has come full cycle. No longer the leader in a historical crusade for changes that buried the old colonial world, no longer the nation that inspired revolutionary upheavals around the world: the great French Revolution, the mid-19th-century peasant uprisings throughout Europe, the explosive challenges to the Spanish empire in Central and South America—no longer a beacon of hope and inspiration for the hungry and oppressed masses of the world—the U.S. has been turned into its opposite—a worldwide leader of counterrevolution, defender of bloody and tyrannical dictatorships, destroyer of the democratic principle of the right of self-determination of nations.

In the words of Sergio Ramirez Mercado, a leading member of the revolutionary junta in Nicaragua: "...the United States...should return to its original project of liberty and democracy, the project of Washington, Madison and Jefferson—that beautiful revolutionary project that was betrayed by capitalist greed, by the wanton accumulation of riches and by this perverse expansionist will that has forced U.S. borders so many times to our border, like they are once again doing by pushing it to the Honduran border."

Those who understand the dynamics of the development, growth and maturation of the nation as a still necessary form of social organization in the transition to a liberated social order, should be the first to pick up the challenge sounded by this great Sandinista leader, and to lead the struggle to rescue our nation and our people.

—John Rossen

Secretary, The New Patriot Alliance
Chicago

TIRING

FLORENCE LEVINSOHN'S LETTER (ITT, May 30) was both condescending to black people and a sellout of Jews. I can only imagine how sick and tired black civil rights organizers are of being told that they have been "the beneficiaries of Jewish liberalism" over the last 50 years. The civil rights movement didn't start when Jews got involved in the '30s. It began with the first slave revolts and over the last 300 years has been an overwhelmingly black inspired and black supported movement. American blacks owe nothing to anyone.

Levinsohn's letter also implies that black people should like Jews better because some Jews helped them out. That is nonsense. Jews deserve the same respect as everyone else, not because of what they have done but because they are human beings. Period.

—Matthew Lasar
Oakland, Calif.

PARENTAL DESPOTISM

FLORENCE LEVINSOHN OBSERVED (ITT, May 30) that blacks' "deep strain of hatred against Jews...is the hatred that sometimes characterizes a son's or daughter's relationship to parents." From knowing parent-child situations in which this is the case, let me observe that the despotism of the par-

ent causes the child to have this reaction. Normal parent-child relationships do not turn out this way.

Blacks in America have been the oppressed; we should at least respect their conception of who their oppressors are. Inasmuch as the press has disproportionately concentrated on Jesse Jackson's "Hymie" remarks, the press has defined him in terms of that event. Yet Jesse has done better and better in the primaries, garnering about 75 percent of the black vote. If the black community as a whole did not identify with Jackson's views, they would more likely stick with the Mondale-oriented elements of the black community with closer ties to the Jewish establishment.

White civil rights activist William Tucker, writing in the conservative *Washington Times*, observes, "Mr. Jackson's positions are not far out of the Democratic Party mainstream. Yet obviously something else is going on here. Jews have probably been more solicitous of the cause of blacks than any other group in America, but the patronage has probably been based on a tacit understanding that blacks will return this support on the Middle East. Jackson has emerged as a black leader who does not feel beholden to these agreements, and the recriminations have been rancorous."

I can understand how betrayed Levinsohn must feel, seeing how blacks have developed a resentment against the Jews who treated them "like children" and whose "money fueled the equal rights struggles." Alas, blacks—themselves the victims of oppression—seem disposed to sympathize with victims of oppression throughout the world, e.g., the Palestinians. Like mature adults they wanted to make decisions on world issues for themselves. The civil rights movement, far from being destroyed "when Martin Luther King was killed and the cities went up in smoke" as Levinsohn suggests, is alive and well. Blacks have their own respectable presidential candidate within a generation of the beginning of organized equal rights efforts. No other ethnic group (except maybe the Irish) could say the same. That blacks will speak up for justice in the Middle East in spite of Jewish financing of their struggles is honorable. That a black man or woman's soul is not for sale merits not condemnation, but admiration.

—Dino Joseph Drudi
Washington, D.C.

TONGUE IN PERIL

AS ONE WHO KNOWS THAT WRITERS don't mind hearing nice things about what they write, allow me enthusiastically to salute Diana Johnstone's piece on Portugal (ITT, May 30). I spent five tumultuous days in that country a year after the overthrow of dictator Salazar. This is the most solid journalistic update I have seen on where Portugal is now.

As a big bonus, Johnstone strikes a

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LETTERS

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blow for the beleaguered English language. She resurrects the word "figuratively" from the dead, or nearly dead. In these days of television-nourished semi-literacy, even the *Los Angeles Times* writes of a theatrical cast "literally exploding with talent." (Boom!) And, praise be, Johnstone also correctly uses the battered adjective "disinterested," not as a synonym for "uninterested."

No small thing. Colleges are pouring out people who announce that they are going to "lay down" (Henrietta Down?), and who say "I could care less" when they mean exactly the opposite. It has been well said that those who cannot speak their own language clearly are unlikely to think with much greater clarity.

On behalf of our mother tongue, thank you, Diana Johnstone.

—Lester Rodney
Torrance, Calif.

BOTTOMS UP?

I FOUND DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE ON the near crash of the Continental Bank (ITT, May 30) highly interesting—and very worrisome. A banking time-bomb may be about to explode.

If banks like Continental are in a precarious position due to the overt greed that has led them to make unwise loans that now can't be repaid, I am wondering what will happen to them should we have an economic downturn in early 1985, as some economists are predicting? Is it possible that many of these banks could collapse? Are we on the verge of the Second Great Depression of the 20th century?

Perhaps such speculations are unwarranted. Still, with banking deregulation removing the controls that were put into place during the last Great Depression, and with Reagan taking the country into the uncharted waters of superhigh budget deficits, there is cause for worry.

In the meantime, let us keep agitating for the social ownership and control of the banks and the Federal Reserve

Board—the only genuine solution to this pending crisis.

—Donald F. Busky
Local Chairperson,
Socialist Party of Greater Philadelphia

REBOUND

LESTER RODNEY FLATLY REJECTS the charge that the U.S. government had any ties to the anti-Soviet activities planned for the Los Angeles Olympics (ITT, May 23).

He accuses the Soviets of taking a cheap shot. Then he says the U.S. could have improved the atmosphere by publicly dissociating itself from the Ban the Soviets Coalition.

He ignores a fact. As the *New York Times* reported on April 10, "According to federal officials, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has organized a team of specialists, including Russian-speaking officers, to process defectors during the Olympics, and local policemen will be given instructions on how to deal with defectors."

Unless I missed the Reagan administration's denial of this report, I would assume it explains why the U.S. government was in no position to distance itself from the anti-Soviet groups. They were working together.

The cheap shot came from Rodney, not Moscow.

—Michael Funke
Flushing, N.Y.

BEQUESTS

In These Times appreciates the bequests received from readers and supporters. These legacies (ranging from \$500 upward) have been a help to the paper's solvency and show a commitment for continuing *In These Times'* role of providing a left perspective on the news of today.

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STT1

PERSPECTIVES

Higher wages will help productivity

By Sam Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf

This is Part III of a four-part series.

THERE IS A WORKABLE ALTERNATIVE to trickle-down economics. And yet, leftists have been somewhat ambivalent in their criticisms of these policies.

While defending the jobs and wages of working people, many on the left have also shied away from proposing a strategy to guarantee the right to a job and to promote productivity growth—either for lack of a coherent alternative or because they fear some of the economic or political implications of productivity growth. Some have questioned the goal of full employment as either utopian or even undesirable.

We think that these hesitations are misplaced. We believe that a program pursuing more rapid productivity growth by promoting more rapid wage growth and greater wage equalization—particularly between men and women and between whites and people of color—has great promise on both economic and political grounds.

This is not to say that high wages can never be a problem or that high wages are not now a problem in particular industries. Nor is it to say that we should be single-minded in our promotion of the objective of more rapid productivity growth.

But high wages are not the basic problem of the American economy, and fostering more rapid productivity growth should be one of our highest priorities. We link these arguments through our analysis of the logic of what we call wage-led productivity growth.

We do not have the space to describe all of the policy measures that might be needed to implement a wage-led productivity growth strategy, nor to present our full set of proposals for democratic control of the economy. These are detailed in the 24-point "Economic Bill of Rights" presented in our book, *Beyond the Waste Land*. Here we will simply list some key measures that would have to be included:

- rapid movement toward full employment through government stimulus of the economy and direct public job creation;
- wage equalization through increased minimum wages, rigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation and broad application of the principle of equal pay for comparable worth;
- wage increases through promotion of full employment, repeal of the Taft-Hartley bill and passage of the 1978 Labor

Low-productivity jobs, not workers, is the problem in the American economy.

Law Reform legislation;

- anti-inflationary policy through promotion of productivity growth—not through monetary restraint—and short-term adjustment or transition measures through a system of flexible tax-based price controls and a "price stability public investment fund" to moderate inflationary bottlenecks.

What matters more than the program-

matic details of the strategy is its logic. The key is the positive effect of wages on productivity and the central importance of stimulating productivity growth.

Why is productivity growth itself so crucial? Many on the left are skeptical about its importance, suspicious that concern about productivity growth feeds management efforts to speed up work intensity.

But achieving more rapid productivity growth seems to us essential if we are to deal with the problems facing the vast majority of people in the U.S. Slower productivity growth over the past decade and a half has created strong downward pressures on workers' earnings and has forced workers and households to work longer hours to maintain their standards of living. More rapid productivity growth is central to the objective of moving toward full employment without forcing further wage concessions upon the currently employed. And more rapid productivity growth is essential if we are to be able to fulfill the historic commitment of people on the left to the continual reduction of the length of the working day and the expansion of free time.

Productivity growth is thus crucial. The issue is not its importance, but rather *who controls the mechanisms promoting it and who reaps its dividends.*

Historical evidence shows that high wage growth is frequently associated with high productivity growth. But which way does the causation run? Why should one expect higher wages to stimulate more productivity growth?

Economists often teach that wages are determined by labor productivity. While it is arithmetically true that productivity sets a limit on wages, the conventional wisdom cannot be sustained in any stronger sense, for there are important causal connections in the other direction—that is, some crucial linkages through which wages affect productivity. Three of these are especially relevant to current conditions.

(1) High wages contribute to productivity because they constitute an important source of worker motivation. As both workers and employers know and as economists sometimes forget, productivity is powerfully influenced by the quality of work and the amount of effort a worker puts into a job. Both the amount and the quality of effort, in turn, are determined at least as much by the worker as by the employer. High wages and good working conditions are elements of a positive strategy to elicit high quality work effort. The alternative is a negative strategy that relies on close supervision and the threat of unemployment to keep workers in line. Emphasizing this latter approach, some observers have openly hailed high levels of unemployment as a means to restore workplace discipline.

After World War II, American employers applied a mixture of positive and negative incentives in an effort to motivate their employees. But over the last decade, and particularly since 1979, the positive incentives have been virtually abandoned in favor of negative sanctions.

This shift has been costly in part because of the growing number of employees engaged in supervision rather than production; we now have one manager or supervisor for every six non-supervisory workers in the U.S. More costly still has been the growth of unemployment. A wage-led growth strategy would reverse this wasteful, and indeed often counterproductive, reliance on negative sanctions to boost work intensity.

(2) High wages also contribute to productivity growth by forcing employers to

modernize or go out of business. High and more equal wages represent the best possible industrial policy for the U.S. The point is very simple: the main problem in the economy is not low productivity workers but low productivity jobs. Low productivity jobs exist and proliferate because of the abundance of low-wage workers—often the subjects of discrimination and other limitations on economic opportunity—makes it possible for low-productivity businesses to survive. By shifting workers from low-productivity to higher-productivity jobs, a high wage strategy coupled with a full employment program would increase productivity in the economy as a whole, even if it had no effects on productivity in each sector of the economy.

To be sure, such a shift would not be costless. Workers previously employed in low-productivity businesses would be temporarily unemployed; many would need to be retrained for new higher-productivity jobs. Although some high-productivity businesses could expand their employment by utilizing previously idle productive capacity, others would have to invest in new plant and equipment.

And the public sector would need to generate new productive employment opportunities, at least for a transitional period (while private firms geared up for expansion) and most likely on a permanent

tivity; productivity growth in Sweden between 1960 and 1979 was twice that in the U.S.

(3) Higher wages stimulate productivity in a third way as well, one based on the more familiar insights of Keynesian economics. When total demand for goods and services is too low to sustain full utilization of productive capacity, as in the U.S. today, the level of productive efficiency suffers. Moreover, in a slack economy, idle capacity constitutes a major obstacle to expanded investment, thereby reducing productivity growth as well.

But rising wages lead to rising consumer demand and hence to rising aggregate demand for goods and services. In the present context of inadequate final demand, this rise would increase productive efficiency directly and increase the rate of capital formation, thus contributing to productivity growth in the future.

These three effects are likely to be quite powerful in combination. One might nonetheless object that rising wages might not have these desirable effects if wage increases lowered the expected rate of profit on new investments and thereby reduced the incentive for business to invest. But the level of capacity utilization could be expected to improve both current and expected profit rates through the positive effect of the growth of consumer demand

THE ECONOMY III



basis as well (to provide goods and services not adequately supplied by private business).

All of this would clearly require a substantial amount of resources and cost a good deal of money. But we have estimated that the productivity gains from such a strategy in the U.S. would more than repay the increased employment, retraining and capital costs involved.

The idea of a high and more equal wage strategy is relatively unfamiliar in the U.S., but it is widely discussed in Northern Europe and has been practiced for a long time in Sweden. The Swedish labor unions helped pioneer "solidarity wage" policies in the early '50s.

The success of these policies in Sweden has been evident. One study concluded that the spread of wages between higher- and lower-paid workers in Swedish trade unions, representing nearly 80 percent of all Swedish employees, "declined by almost half in 15 years" between 1959 and 1974. This narrowing of the wage gap helped promote rapid growth of produc-

on capacity utilization.

A second major determinant of the expected profit rate, and hence of investment, is the real unit cost of labor—that is, what firms have to pay their workers (in real terms) per unit of output. Higher real wages, *per se*, clearly mean higher real unit labor costs. But higher productivity (real output per worker) means lower real unit labor costs. We have argued that wage increases and the reduction of wage inequality serve to boost productivity, and this productivity-enhancing effect could well offset the effect of the wage increase. On balance, real unit labor costs might actually decline, as they did during the economic expansion of the early and mid-'60s. Thus investment need not necessarily fall as a result of wage increases accompanied by wage equalization.

The reason for this fortuitous lack of an immediate conflict of interest between capital and labor is that actual production is low relative to productive capacity.

Continued on page 22

By Tom Johnson

In the spring of 1979, I worked as a part-time laborer in a small slaughterhouse on the outskirts of Grand Rapids, Mich. It was one of a series of jobs that I had worked at as a teen in the early '60s: minimum-wage work in small non-union shops. I always assumed that these jobs were temporary: stepping stones to bigger and better things, like a "real job." I'm still stepping.

Somewhere along the way I realized that most workers are in a similar situation (assuming that they have jobs at all). Most production in the U.S. takes place in small or medium-sized shops that offer little in the way of wages, job control, benefits or security. Seventy-five to 80 percent of U.S. workers are unorganized.

Meat-packing is becoming increasingly concentrated in ownership and production facilities, and the trend toward non-unionism (and union-busting), poor wages, unsafe working conditions, no job security and few benefits is accelerating. So when you hear the cash register bip-beep and jingle-jangle while you wait for the next grease patty to come sizzling off the fast-food assembly line, listen for the background noise of your basic farmer working himself to death on a second job because the plowing and planting won't even pay the fuel bill, not to mention his ever-ballooning mortgage.

On the disassembly line.

The full-timers have been working since well before sunrise, leaning over butcher-block tables, powdering fresh-cut meats with handfuls of sodium nitrates and nitrites, looking like so many bakers, dusted in white. They slice, cut and chop the last frigid hog side from the previous day's kill into bacon, hams, chops, steaks and butts. Already, eyes will be tearing from the smoke that seeps up from the smoking oven in the basement. But the full-timers are used to it. They have been at it since 5:50 a.m. Many are moonlighting.

Slaughtering is an agribusiness that runs on farm time. Time to get up and do some chores in the pitch black damp of the morning, eat a heavy breakfast, then squeal into the parking lot while spilling coffee and cursing life as Paul Harvey pontificates over the radio about the virtues of clean living and hard work in rural America.

But you don't say anything. You half-hurry, half-stumble down the basement stairs and grab a yellow rubberized apron from the hooks. You tie up while kicking off your shoes and jumping into a pair of rubber boots.

You're late and you're holding up the line—the disassembly line. So you grab a ham-cloth (made from cheesecloth and used to pack hams) from a large cardboard barrel. You place your hands inside as if you're stretching your fingers for a game of cat's cradle, lift it up on your head and pull it down over your hair for a net. Aproned, booted and netted, you're now ready for the line.

But first, the killing floor.

The killer selects the animals that bear the red mark of death, separating them from the others with a broom. Like a herder on a cattle drive, he shoos them into the hallway sealed off at either end with wooden gates. Then he grabs the stun-gun that he's plugged into the AC line when he came to work. It is now suffi-

ciently charged (he hopes) to knock the animals out.

The stun-gun is an electrical, two-prong prod, hooked up to a box-like voltage meter by a heavy wire about the size of a jumper cable. The handle of the prod has a pistol-grip and trigger so that he can control the flow of juice a little.

He picks the hog, places the dual prongs to the back of its neck and squeezes. An electric jolt will jump into the animal's nervous system, cause it to stiffen up, shake violently for an instant and flop to the concrete. Usually, the jolt won't kill the animal: its heart continues to beat rapidly just above its belly. If the killer is lucky, the bacon-to-be will be knocked stone cold. If not, he'd better zap it again, just to make sure. Half-crazed hogs are difficult to handle.

An occasional feisty sow may kick herself completely free as he tries to wrap one of its rear legs with a hanging-chain. Hundreds of pounds of blind and blundering terror then run wildly into the disassembly area. Workers slip and slide in the blood and fat as they rush to the corners to grab brooms to shoo the stray back to the killer—to be stunned again before it can take out a man and

ing floor, sometimes to a depth of six inches. They rotate on chains, kicking their free leg. This is the most dangerous time for the killer. A condemned hog can easily break an arm or take an eye out as its last act.

As it twists, the hog's fluids rush to its lowered head. Saliva drips from its mouth and it chokes. If it hangs long enough, blood will mix with the saliva and drain through ears and eyes and snout, while the death squeal grows in intensity, reverberating through the plant. Some of the workers become nervous as they wait for the carcasses to come to their stations along the disassembly line.

"Hey, you killing them things or fucking 'em or what?"

"Will ya hold down that racket over there? I'm meditating and you're disturbin' my concentration, know what I mean."

"Man. You an' your hogs—you're gettin' to sound as good as Bob Seger. You oughtta cut an album an' get rich..."

The killer continues to dispatch the hogs as if he doesn't hear the death cries of the animals or the nervous derision of his co-workers. He's become a surgeon, deep in concentration. Working his way from left to

Thousands of workers leave the job—or go insane or commit suicide.

storm sewer in a downpour. The blood spills onto the butcher and everything around him as he sloshes through the ankle-deep stuff. He kicks at the sewer-cover of the drain that runs to a holding tank below to try to stop a clog. Occasionally he will take a broom handle to try to unstop the blood-drain. But no matter what he does, the sewer backs up during killing time.

While he pokes into the sewer like he's plunging out the family toilet, an Asian immigrant sloshes through the mess directly to the killing rack. He raises a yellow plastic bucket up to a punctured sow and catches its effluent in the container. The killer stops his poking for a moment. He leans on the upturned broom and shakes his head. Do people actually eat that stuff? But he doesn't wonder long. He may have to kill another hundred hogs before the cry "All hanged!" roars across the killing room floor, sig-

Safety and Health Administration, meat packing is by far the most dangerous occupation listed in its statistical jungle. In 1981, for example, one-third of all meat-packing workers suffered injuries or illnesses from the job. Compare that 33 percent to 27 percent in certain kinds of sawmilling, 20 percent in heavy construction or 13 percent in anthracite coal mining.

The brute figures.

Killing is only the beginning. There is the line—always the line.

But the line itself is not really that at all. It is an overhead rail that hogs hang from, lurching from station to station for disassembly. It is a maze of machinery and flesh, grease and sweat, pain and boredom, blood and guts—and money.

In 1982, 150,000 slaughterhouse workers (80 percent of whom were laborers) processed and packed 36 million cattle and 83 million hogs. Gross sales were \$50 billion. These workers produced enough meat so that we could each consume 77 pounds of Big Macs and 58 pounds of smokie links—the greatest per-capita consumption of meat of any nation.

The line itself consumes. After you work on it for a while you may develop "carpal tunnel syndrome." CTS is a condition similar to arthritis of the wrists. It can permanently cripple or disable you. Because the disease de-

LIFE IN THE U.S.



In 1982, 83 million hogs were slaughtered, helping make U.S. per capita meat consumption the highest in the world.

LABOR

Hog butcher's lament

knock him into the boiling vat. The killer wraps a two-foot-long chain to one of its hind legs and drags it over to the pulley-lift. He hooks the chain to the lift, which is bolted into the concrete-block wall with bolts the size of broomsticks. As the lift rises first with a jerk, then slowly, the hog is dragged, still kicking and squealing, through the filth on the floor.

It is pulled onto the killing rack where five of its brethren wait. The lucky ones are out cold. The less lucky stare at the pool of blood that covers the kill-

right, he inserts the six-inch-long blade into the soft flesh of the animal's throat. An imperceptible flick of his wrist and he tears a neat and clean three-inch gash in the hog's neck, almost before it knows it. Then he snaps his wrist again, ever so slightly, almost indiscernibly, like he's turning on the ignition to his father's John Deere in the back quarter.

For an instant nothing happens and you wonder if he missed the jugular vein. Then purple-red blood rushes from the animal's gashed neck, erupting like a

nalling the end of the slaughter.

Then the killer tosses his blood-spattered apron into a 55-gallon drum filled with steamed soapy water. A short hose runs from a steam line into the drum, billowing up a froth of super-heated water. It reminds the killer that a careless move may result in a boiled finger or splattering of super-heated soapy lava that can fry a cornea in an instant. Warned, the meat-maker heads to a holding pen—Heaven's Gate—to mark more hogs for the killing floor.

According to the Occupational

velops over time, it is difficult to collect disability insurance or workman's compensation to alleviate some of the suffering.

Many thousands of line workers leave the job due to layoffs, automation or old age—or go insane or commit suicide. After they work on it a while, the line is in their bones and soul and aching back—until the routine, by which their lives are defined, by which they define themselves, is broken. Once that is gone, what's left? A void: a down-to-earth void like a hole in the ground four foot by seven foot by six foot deep.

There's Old Mickey up on the catwalk leaning over the boiling vat. At age 50, he looks like he's 75. But the way he's hunched over that vat, he could be one of Macbeth's witches stirring a cauldron of bubbles and

Continued on page 23

"Changing Course" Blueprint for Peace in Central America and the Caribbean
Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America
Institute for Policy Studies,
112 pp., \$5.00

By John Coatsworth

This highly readable "blueprint," published by the Institute for Policy Studies, could scarcely have been better timed. The authors present their proposals as Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (PACCA). Their book, *Changing Course: Blueprint for Peace in Central America and the Caribbean* should be on every citizen's must-reading list. It was written "to be used as an action and organizing document for Congress, the religious community, labor unions, minority and women's groups, community organizations, students, and all those who find themselves uneasy with American policy" in Central America. In short, almost anyone will find this book persuasive and useful.

In 112 pages of straightforward prose, PACCA combines telling criticism of Reagan policies with a comprehensive, point-by-point outline of what a more sensible and humane foreign pol-

America and the Caribbean (another appendix). PACCA even managed to include an "Epilogue" to respond to the Kissinger Commission report.

Changing Course begins with a list of principles and policies PACCA recommends to the public and to public officials, on the inside of the front cover. The principles range from "non-intervention" to "support for democratic development and concern for democratic values." The policies come in two sets, the first called "A Program for Peace" and the second "A Program for Development."

The PACCA peace program includes specific recommendations, developed at greater length in the text, for changes in American policy toward each of the five Central American republics, plus Cuba. In Nicaragua, "cease backing the counterrevolutionary forces" and "support Contadora efforts to normalize relations between Nicaragua and its neighbors." In El Salvador, "cut off military aid" and support a "negotiated settlement involving power-sharing." In Honduras, dismantle the new U.S. military bases and withdraw U.S. forces. In Guatemala, "express disapproval" of government repression, "maintain the cut-off of military assistance" and aid refu-

base of each country." Trade should be "liberalized" and the U.S. should end its longstanding opposition to "limited commodity agreements" to stabilize the prices of the region's exports. On the debt crisis, PACCA urges the U.S. to "support regional plans for renegotiation of external debt." On the labor issue, this country "should develop programs to compensate and retrain U.S. workers affected by liberalized imports" and "guarantee rights to immigrant workers."

their countries. The report also recommends legalization of the status of Haitian refugees already in the country, the use of data from Amnesty International, the UN High Commission for Refugees and other international sources (not just the State Department) when INS takes decisions on refugee cases, and the cessation of the administration's promotion of "anti-refugee hysteria" through references to "hordes of Central American refugees" and the like.

The book's introduction briefly argues PACCA's two central assumptions. The first is that the Reagan administration's policies in Central America are failing. "Soon, the choice may be symbolic defeat or direct U.S. intervention." The second assumption is that a more "realistic" set of policies are immediately available and would serve "real U.S. interests" better.

Chapter 1 on the "Origins of the Crisis" sets out to justify the first of these assumptions with a brief history (details are left to the footnotes) of U.S. relations with Central America, concluding with a list of the Reagan policy failures. The authors argue, as do most liberal critics of the administration, that the roots of revolution lie in social and economic inequality, coupled with elite resistance to democratic change. But they also conclude, correctly, that "in general, the U.S. has stood with the ruling elites." PACCA's analysis of American policy failures thus centers its attack on the hostility of the U.S. to revolutionary change in the region. "The historical enemies of freedom and justice in the small countries of Central America have not been Communists," PACCA argues, "much less Soviets, but the ruling aristocracies whose militaries have been trained by the U.S. and by U.S. forces themselves."

The basis for a new set of policies is set out in Chapter 2, "The Framework for Policy: The National Interest." Here PACCA confronts the two main themes of the Reagan policy defense: economic self-interest and national security. On the economic argument, PACCA suggests that the "true challenge to U.S. economic well-being" does not come from the relatively minor U.S. trade and investment in the region, nor from putative threats to sea lanes (neither shipping nor

the Panama Canal could be defended from an all-out attack, but no one has any interest in attacking them), but from the destabilizing effects of the international debt crisis that could undermine any one of Latin America's larger nations and "quite possibly affect the survival of the international monetary system."

On military security, PACCA argues what most Pentagon experts know to be true—nothing that happens in Central America could possibly have more than a "marginal" impact on U.S. military security. A more serious threat to American interests (both domestic and international) would be posed by the regionalization of conflict in Central America. This view is shared by Mexican authorities, whose criticisms of American policy have continued in the past two years, despite an economic crisis that has left Mexico more vulnerable to American pressures.

In the epilogue, PACCA also attacks the domino theory revived in the Kissinger Report that appeared just before *Changing Course* went to press. In its report, the Kissinger Commission argued that U.S. tolerance of radical regimes and revolutionary movements would lead to an irreversible deterioration of U.S. influence in Central America. Ultimately, the U.S. position would become so weak that even Mexico would be driven to hostility. The U.S. would then be forced to divert resources to defend its southern borders and thus lose its capacity to influence the rest of the world. Thus, the loss of influence in one or two small Central American republics could lead to the development of a major threat to national security, accompanied by a severe loss of power on the world stage.

PACCA confronts this nightmare by attacking its plausibility, and by showing that the policies that flow from it pose more serious danger to U.S. interests. The U.S. does have "major strategic interests" in Panama and Mexico, PACCA argues, but these interests are threatened, not protected, by policies that could lead to regional war. "It would be a cruel irony, indeed," the authors argue, "if in preparing to counter revolutions that do not threaten our security, the U.S. sparked a regional conflict that could affect our interests directly."

The principle of "Domestic Legitimacy" is invoked to argue that the U.S. should no longer permit "a small handful of unaccountable national security 'experts' to speak for the country...." Instead, "domestic values, priorities and responsibilities" must be considered. New actors from the "civil rights movements, the women's movement and the antinuclear campaign" represent "a different conception of American priorities" and should have an impact on the conduct of foreign policy. This notion, that foreign policy should reflect the values and norms of a majority of the American population, may appear to be radical (given the narrow range of corporate and military interests that dominate the State Department). Indeed, no specific recommendations follow from it later in the book, but it is clear from PACCA's insistence on this point (and the attention given to issues of special concern to the labor movement) that the authors see a link between domestic movements for social change and reform in foreign policy.

The second of PACCA's noteworthy principles carries the



icy might look like. Not a perfect foreign policy, but one that could be adopted by an enlightened politician or your next door neighbor, neither of whom may be wildly enthusiastic about seriously disruptive changes in domestic policy. The next time you are asked to "recommend something" (or need a quick review and answers to the most-often-asked questions) look for this book.

Changing Course covers security issues, economic interests (an appendix adds details) and the historical background to the current conflicts in Central America. It contains capsule "profiles" of every country in Central

gees. For Costa Rica, "oppose militarization and extend economic assistance."

In the case of Cuba, PACCA urges the U.S. "to begin a process designed to achieve normal diplomatic and commercial relations," but stops short of advocating immediate recognition.

The development program includes recommendations on aid, trade, debt problems and the treatment of "workers and migrants" in the U.S. Aid should be directed toward "those regional programs and governments that are narrowing the gulf between rich and poor" as well as to "grassroots" projects that help to "diversify the economic

Analysis, detail and further recommendations are added in the text. On Central American migrants and refugees, for example, PACCA recommends that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) extend voluntary departure status to Salvadorans and Guatemalans in the U.S. and permit them to work and "become part of the legal labor force." PACCA also recommends that INS liberalize its policies on granting political asylum to refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras by eliminating the requirement that applicants show proof (usually impossible to obtain) that they will be persecuted on returning to

Anyone will find this book useful and readable.

clumsy title, "Support for Equity and Development." This principle, for PACCA, means support for development programs that reduce social inequality (Guatemala and El Salvador are explicitly excluded from aid on this criteria). It also means channeling more aid through international agencies and to grassroots organizations. Aid should be based on performance criteria—how effective recipient countries are in meeting "basic human needs"—rather than on ideological conformity or political compliance. Since U.S. aid programs have largely sought to promote private sector development (as Soviet aid encourages the development of public sectors in the Third World) and has been directed mostly toward rewarding clients in Central America, the PACCA principle again defines a radical departure from the past.

The last chapter of *Changing Course*, details and defends 23 specific recommendations for peace in Central America and elaborates the main elements of an alternative economic development program. No single document or report (save that of the Kissinger Commission) has yet attempted so comprehensive a set of policy recommendations for Central America. Together, they constitute the basis for a coherent alternative foreign policy in the region. The comprehensiveness of the PACCA recommendations, rather than their individual content, makes this document uniquely important.

As piecemeal criticism of Reagan's policies has arisen, the administration has answered its critics by invoking images from the rhetorical shopping bag of the Cold War—the threat from the Soviet Union, dominoes falling nearer and nearer to our shores. Public debate has suffered from the lack of effective responses to these symbolic non sequiturs. Congressional critics have been especially susceptible to election-year charges of "losing" Central America.

Impact on the Democratic candidates.

The PACCA report answers these charges by demonstrating that no essential American interest need be threatened, nothing important "lost," by "changing course." *Changing Course* has already had an impact on Congress and the election campaign. Rev. Jesse Jackson has endorsed it, and stepped up his attacks on Reagan's policies. Hart and Mondale appear to be groping toward a less viable alternative—an end to *contra* attacks on Nicaragua, but continued aid to El Salvador. *Changing Course* will strengthen the voices calling for majority policy changes in debates over the Democratic Party platform and in local election campaigns all over the country.

PACCA's authors may be accused of optimism, but they are not naive. Changing course will not be easy. It is not likely that all the PACCA recommendations would be adopted even by a liberal, Democratic administration. But that is beside the point. The genius of this work lies in its carefully documented and clearly written appeal to reason and human values and in its eminently sensible approach to policy issues. By showing so clearly that an alternative foreign policy is eminently feasible, PACCA has made a major contribution to the struggle for it.

John H. Coatsworth is professor of Latin American history at the University of Chicago.

NATO

Working with the alliance

The Alliance: America-Europe-Japan, Makers of the Postwar World

By Richard J. Barnet
Simon and Schuster, 511 pp., \$19.95

By Fred Halliday

As I read this elegant history of the postwar relationship between the U.S. and its major capitalist allies, I was reminded of an

the interests of Europe and Japan. Ronald Reagan is at fault for pushing the allies around, just as Jimmy Carter was for disdaining them. Also, the CIA was guilty of corrupting people to such an extent that the moral superiority of the West over the East was obscured.

Yet what moral advantage is enjoyed by a nation that waged the Vietnam war, that is now internationalizing the conflicts of

to promote—there also have been clashes of style and substance. Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of NATO.

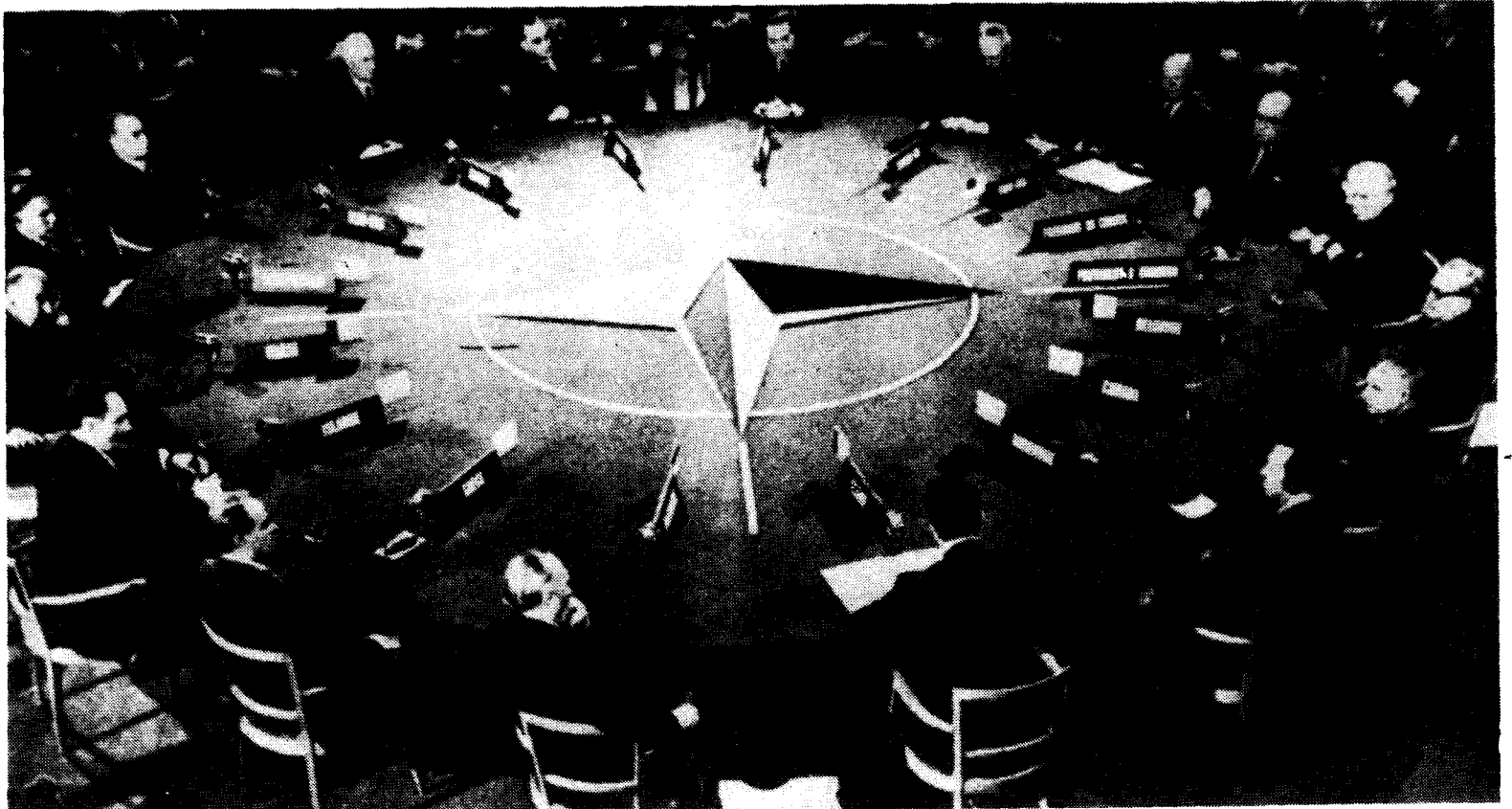
Unprecedented challenge.

Barnet's book is an impressive intellectual achievement. Spanning almost 40 years, it is rich in theme, personality and anecdote. We meet not only Adenauer and Brandt, Yoshida and Ohira, Eden and de Gaulle, Truman and Nixon, but also a host of secondary characters, such as Egon Bahr and John McCloy, who helped construct and maintain the American alliance system. Yet this book spends little space on the foe against whom this alliance was officially directed. Although Barnet shows how the "Soviet threat" was manipulated for intra-alliance purposes, he does not seriously question the underlying need for such an alli-

tion briskly introduced by MacArthur in Japan was only a more extreme version of the same re-stabilization implemented with equal success in Europe.

Barnet has a gift both for synthesis and for evoking the mood of a period. He is especially astute in his observations on several individuals who cross his pages. For example, when he writes "John F. Kennedy was no reformer, but he projected the image of reform," Barnet says more in a few words than many a bulky biography. And Henry Kissinger, if he has recovered from Seymour Hersch, is knocked to the ground again by Barnet.

My problems with *The Alliance* are two-fold. First, the fluency of Barnet's presentation made it difficult for me to grasp the underlying political and economic trends in the relation between the U.S. and its allies. Be-



evening a couple of years ago when Dick Barnet and I shared a platform on NATO. The occasion was a Washington fundraising weekend for the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), an institution that he helped to found and maintain and with which, through its European affiliate, the Transnational Institute, I have also worked since 1975.

We did not coordinate our presentations beforehand, and the evening progressed with the informality and zest that, coming from the old world, I so often associate with the political culture of the new. When Barnet and I spoke about NATO, I was surprised to find we had diametrically opposed positions. I called for an attack upon—indeed, the dissolution of—this imperialist and aggressive outfit, which I considered the main instrument of international counterrevolution in the postwar world. Barnet thought this was dangerous and believed we should work within the alliance to strengthen the forces of peace and detente. To break up NATO would only release the American right from the constraints that its European allies placed upon it, and would encourage the militaristic unilateralism that IPS and other liberal and left forces in the U.S. have long opposed.

The Alliance brings back that evening for two reasons. First, when reading it I found myself both fascinated and disturbed by its argument. The drift of this survey, rich in detail of intercapitalist relations since 1945 and of the motley collection of characters who conducted them, is that the alliance is threatened by an American failure to understand

Barnet believes NATO faces an unprecedented challenge, not from the enemy without, but from the tensions within.

Central America and that has permitted widespread nuclear proliferation? And would it not be better to attack today's Cold War system by challenging the bloc system upon which it rests?

Europe, with a population equal to the Soviet Union's, and with technology and economic potential greater than the USSR's, can surely find a solution to its problems without hitching itself to the Pentagon and 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Which brings me to the second reminiscent feature of this book: the divergence between Barnet and myself was not a mere personal quirk—an index of the healthy diversity of views within IPS that infuriates those people who cast us as agents of one conspiracy or another. Rather, it reflected exactly what *The Alliance* is about—the different historical experiences of Europe and the U.S., a difference as important and formative for those of us on the left as it is for the bastions of the Atlanticist right.

The internationalism we espouse has to be built through hard work. It is not given through the discovery of some underlying harmony of interest and strategy. And within that radical Atlanticism of recent years—that both the Institute for Policy Studies and the Transnational Institute have done more than their share

ance. Instead, his analysis mainly focuses on the inter-capitalist system and the incidents, achievements and strains that have marked its history.

Barnet believes the alliance now faces an unprecedented challenge, not from the enemy without, but from the tensions within. He writes that the children have grown up, and the U.S. must recognize this.

In particular, at the heart of the history and structure of *The Alliance* lies the originator of the whole story, Germany, and the emphasis given to this central European actor is more than justified by the argument's progress. The German question, Germany's unity and military strength, remains unresolved, for the U.S. and USSR, its former conquerors, as much as for the Western European states that will have to live with it.

The other special dimension of *The Alliance* is the stress upon Japan. Inclusion of this east Asian actor is even more important for a European audience than for an American one: the current modish talk about a re-orientation of American policy toward Japan and away from Europe conceals the fact that the U.S. has always looked both ways, for strategic if not always for economic reasons. And the pattern of capitalist consolida-

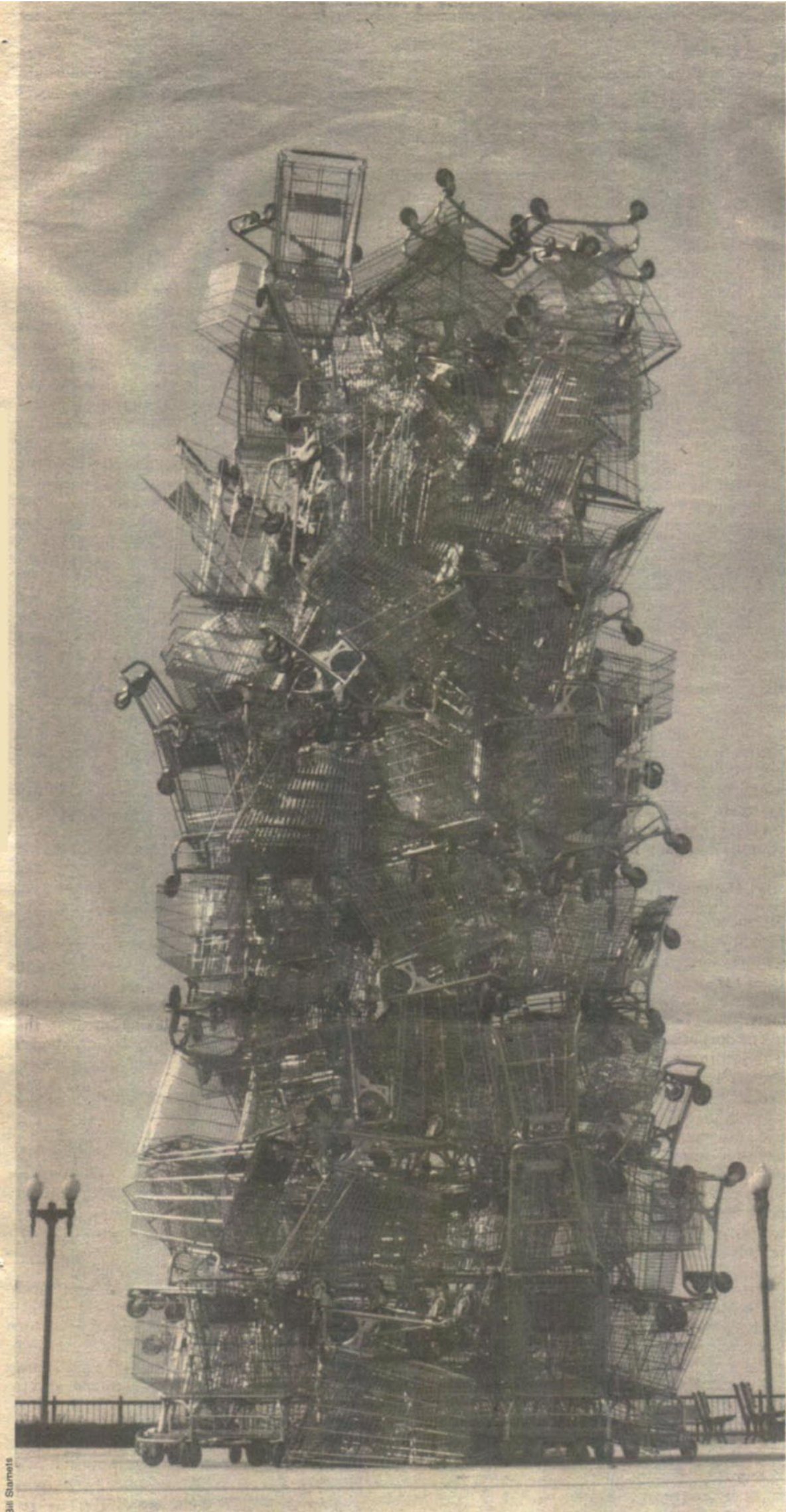
hind all the meetings and crises, material forces were at work: of trade, finance, investment—the "beef" of intercapitalist relations. There is too little of the statistic and the analytic summary of these issues. More substantive signposts are needed.

This brings up my second and deeper problem, one of politics. It is the position of most opponents of the new Cold War, on both sides of the Atlantic, that NATO should be preserved—the better to restrain the U.S. Barnet shares common ground with the Italian Communist Party and the British Labour Party, of which I am a member. But it is easier to argue this case if one presents NATO as essentially a forum for intercapitalist mediation and junketing. If one puts it in three more conflictual contexts—confrontation with the Soviet bloc, repression of the Third World and management of social conflict within developed capitalist countries—then other issues and prospects come into focus.

NATO's functions are wider, more ominous and more calculated than Barnet suggests. And his regrets over Ronald Reagan's clumsiness tend to obscure these intended perils.

Alternative analysis of NATO still, however, remains to be done. Only when it is done, and presented as well as Barnet's, will it be possible to have a debate within our own radical Atlantic community—one that unites us across the ocean, even as we dispute, and one that is sure to rely heavily on the ground-breaking work of Barnet.

Fred Halliday's most recent book is *The Making of the Second Cold War*.



Arman, 125 shopping carts, 28 feet high

ART

The market comes first

By Alice Thorson

For five days in May, the view from the gallery of the rotunda at Chicago's Navy Pier resembles nothing so much as an elegant pit at the Chicago Board of Trade. The principal players, however, are not bright-jacketed brokers bidding on corn or soybeans, but international dealers playing the futures market of art.

The occasion is the Chicago International Art Exposition (CIAE)—for many in the art business the most important event of

the year. Amid a milling throng of curators, collectors, critics and tourists, transactions are conducted in genteel whispers and knowing nods of the head. Contacts are made, commissions secured, and paintings, sculptures and prints are sold. Although the CIAE office was reluctant to estimate this year's volume of sales, Richard Gray, a top Chicago dealer and a member of the exhibition's advisory committee, said that some \$15 to \$20 millions' worth of art sold.

Now in its fifth year, the CIAE is the largest dealer art fair in the

world, America's first fair to compete successfully with the Europeans. This year's event attracted 160 dealers from 16 countries and more than 35,000 paying visitors (at \$8 a head).

On a Sunday afternoon during Art Expo, *Time* critic Robert Hughes gave a lecture at the Art Institute of Chicago that might well have served as a keynote address. Titled "Art and Money" and delivered in Hughes' inimitably caustic style, the lecture cited numerous examples of the absurd way art prices have soared in recent years and questioned

the art/money nexus.

Speculating in art is becoming an increasingly popular pastime, a prestigious sport that anyone (with money) can play. A sense of irony is also helpful, since what the rest of the world despises can be pay dirt for an adventurous art dealer. Subway graffiti, for example, were for many years considered despicable urban blight. Today, "graffiti art" is the latest in radical chic—an art-market gold mine for dealers like Tony Shafrazi, who devoted his booth at Art Expo to graffiti-inspired canvases. But when life becomes art there's a price, and exactly what price is apparently privileged information. When questioned by phone about the price range of the merchandise, the gallery declined to divulge even a ballpark figure. A delicate subject?

The French gallery Yves Arman devoted its booth to facsimiles of Marcel Duchamp's "readymades"—ordinary, manufactured objects that the artist designated as works of art. Among the items on display were the first readymade (the famous bicycle wheel attached to a stool), the Underwood typewriter cover he christened "Traveler's Folding Item" and the snow shovel inscribed "In Advance of a Broken Arm." Three of the readymades, including "Traveler's Folding Item," were stolen from the fair. They were priced at \$25,000 each.

Galerie Eric Franck of Switzerland drew crowds with one of Jean Tinguely's captivating kinetic sculptures constructed from odd pieces of junk. But the real show-stopper was the display at Tortue Gallery of California. Spectators clamored around John de Andrea's life-size, polyvinyl sculpture of a reclining nude woman executed in meticulous detail. Certainly the art market is not immune to the sales-enhancing effect of the female body. At last year's fair, Tortue sold a de Andrea for \$54,000.

This year's "Mile of Sculpture" was a disappointment. For the first time, viewers had to pay to get into this part of the exhibit. The show was not as ambitious as in previous years, and the quality of work was extremely uneven. Eric Appel's "Summer Garden" of huge painted flowers set a kitschy tone that was difficult to shake, despite inspired works like Linda Lee's giant bird's nest of twigs, trees and found objects. The French artist Arman's tower of 125 shopping carts erected outside looked like a beacon to the art shoppers of the world.

Trends? Contrary to what the informed viewer might expect, political art, which has received considerable coverage in art periodicals since the massive "Artists' Call Against U.S. Intervention in Central America," made a rather meager showing. But market trends generally lag behind artists' consciousness. Political art may be on the cutting edge of artists' sensibility, but it has not yet mustered price tags high enough to compete in the fair economy.

At Art Expo, dealers show what sells and exclude what doesn't. Landscape made a modest showing, large-scale sculpture is still seeking corporate homes, prints are down, photography is almost out. Expensive works by 20th-century masters—Picasso, Duchamp, Leger, Avery, Dubuffet—comprised much of the art on display.

Figurative painting of the expressionist variety stole the show. This new expressionism is extremely palatable. Not as pedes-

trian as realism, it preserves the hallowed stamp of the individual in the mark of the brush while conveying collective angst. Both the imagery and the style are familiar—they cater to our nostalgia for a heroic past and a heroic art.

Perhaps the most telling perception to be gleaned from Art Expo concerns not aesthetics but economics. Today's artists view the marketplace as a necessary and desirable part of the art-making process. Furthermore, they accept the market's authority in determinations of quality, and by and large they aim to please. This obeisance signifies a 180-degree turnabout from artists' antipathy toward the market a decade ago.

During the '70s, many artists became self-conscious about their relationship with the commercial world. In a protest against art's status as a commodity, they stopped making objects altogether. "Conceptual artists," as they were called, chose to "frame" situations rather than canvases. They theorized, documented and classified information instead of making marketable objects. Their preferred formats were ephemeral—earth art, body art, performance and installation. The heroes of the day were Christo, Smithson, Beuys, Acconci and Kosuth.

But ultimately, the products of these artists adapted to the market system. Documents and theoretical texts were framed like drawings. Photographs captured performances and earth-art projects. Temporary, site-specific installations gained permanent niches in museums. The conceptualists' purist intentions were not enough. In allowing themselves to be co-opted, they failed to accomplish their program.

By the '80s, this ideological stance had essentially run out of steam. The culture at large shifted to a new pragmatism rooted in neo-conservatism. Artists reflected this shift, exchanging visual austerity and the primacy of theory for visceral, materialistic art with recognizable images. And they abandoned their recalcitrant attitude toward the marketplace.

The continued success of Art Expo confirms this shift. Art is selling, but is it also selling out? Time will tell.

Alice Thorson is the Chicago/Midwest editor of the *New Art Examiner*, a monthly visual arts publication.

TELEVISION

By Pat Aufderheide

Too late for Taylor Chain

There's always drama in power struggles—that's what makes the boardroom scenes in *Dallas* so watchable. But in *Dallas*, the action happens among the investors. The half-hour documentary *Taylor Chain II*, which will air nationally in mid-July on PBS, shows that there's series material in labor-management relations, without ever mentioning the word "strike." The film takes us where cameras have never gone before: behind the closed doors of a contract negotiation.

In Hammond, Ind., workers at a small, once-family-owned chainmaking factory are going into contract negotiations with new management. It's 1981, almost 10 years after a dramatic wildcat strike that established the union's reputation for militancy and made the workers understand the crisis in steel. The workers have been advising the new management, and they've already swallowed a wage freeze and a 10 percent cut. Now the plant is doing a little better, and the workers want some of their concessions back. Management is still in the red but in no mood to lose the goodwill of its workers.

This, then, is the drama: people on two sides of the table, both looking desperately for ways to make prosperity happen, even though the problems involved go

Labor and management try to save both company and jobs in *TAYLOR CHAIN II*.

far beyond one rented room in the Holiday Inn close to the factory.

It takes days to hammer out the agreement, and tempers rise along with the ubiquitous cigarette smoke. Basic principles conflict over questions like who mops up the head office. In the end a strike is averted, and workers accept a meager wage gain without making further concessions. But *Taylor Chain* is still in terrible trouble. A year and a half

later, the company goes bankrupt. The union preserves the workers' pensions, but that's all—there's no blood in this particular turnip.

The recent history of Taylor Chain factory is an exemplary tale of economic crisis. Family management was incompetent, but even with new management the plant could not survive the recession, especially not in an investment-poor branch of industry. The union offered workers

protection if they organized a strong local, but it couldn't protect them against the biggest threat—shutdown.

Filmmakers Jerry Blumenthal and Gordon Quinn came to this project neither as partisans of organized labor nor as agents of management. They are veterans of the 16mm socially-critical film movement in the '60s. Their films use *cinema verite* methods to explore issues such as racial conflict, gentrification and community organization. Blumenthal and Quinn continue to examine social and political issues and are currently working on a film about the gender gap.

The fact that Blumenthal and Quinn were outsiders was one reason they became the first people to film union contract negotiations for the general public. But usually, if the parties involved distrust one thing more than each other, it's the media. These filmmakers, however, rode into the smoke-filled room on the reputation they achieved by making *Taylor Chain I*, about the 1972 strike. They had established rapport with the strikers,

but the film that resulted was not blindly partisan.

In fact, *Taylor Chain I* so elegantly showed the issues within the industry and the labor movement that both labor unions and management have used it in training sessions. When negotiations came up in 1981, both sides agreed to let the filmmakers in. Furthermore, the United Steel Workers put up money for a study guide to the film. (Also helping out was the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.)

Taylor Chain II has the same authenticity and perspective as *Taylor Chain I*. Like the first film, this one catches spontaneous reality, not by chance but by the filmmakers being in the right place at the right time. The straightforward narration steers away from both rhetoric and generalities.

On the other hand, *Taylor Chain II* is as different from *I* as the times are. The urgency, anger and heady sense of empowerment in *I* are gone. There are many of the same people, but their problems and options have changed. No one stands to gain from open conflict, but no one can gain much even by the canniest negotiations. It's an end-of-the-era story.

When concluding titles tell us that by April 1984, 48 percent of those laid off in 1980 were still unemployed, statistics establish a point made again and again at the negotiating table: this problem is bigger than both of us, but we're the ones who have to deal with it.

Working with conviction, curiosity and a trickle of small grants, an independent filmmaker can explore critical American realities sure to go untold otherwise. If some filmmakers get big bucks for taking us into the boardroom in *Dallas*, bigger stakes are involved in understanding what really happens in a negotiating session. That's where they're talking about the terms of our working—or non-working—lives.

©Pat Aufderheide

For more information on the films, write Kartemquin, 1901 W. Wellington, Chicago, IL 60657.

No more working on the railroad

By David Moberg

One of the early giants of American corporate capitalism, the George Pullman Company won its fame with passenger railroad cars, a paternalistic model of city planning and an 1894 strike that spread from Chicago to the entire country when Eugene V. Debs led the new American Railway Union on a sympathy strike. Nowadays it may symbolize contemporary American business and new challenges to labor: in 1980 Pullman announced that it was stopping passenger-car production (*In These Times*, Nov. 5, 1980).

Filmmakers from Kartemquin, a documentary group that won acclaim for earlier works such as *Taylor Chain*, set out to film the efforts of United Steelworkers Local 1834 to stop the closing. In the process they were drawn deeper into research about Pullman's past and decline of the railways. The result, *The Last Pullman Car*, is scheduled for showing on public television July 6 (local times may vary).

It is a cool, intelligent, well-informed examination that avoids the easy emotionalism of showing workers' hardships, instead revealing how government policies, combined with corporate short-sightedness and wretched management, doomed the company's passenger-car production (a decision a former company president criticizes in the film). Equally methodically, the film follows the workers through each step of the fight, as the meetings fluctuate from packed houses to solemn, sparse gatherings, as the union seeks

new allies and political solutions and, finally, as the international union takes over the local and essentially halts the struggle.

No other film captures so well the workers' frustrating—and in this case, as in most, unsuccessful—efforts to block factory closings. There are no heroic marches on the barricades (may-

be that would have helped) but earnest attempts to persuade legislators, who simply reject their pleas for transit aid and blame the closing on "bad business climate."

The documentary is so packed with information that time constraints force unfortunate condensations, and many of the fascinating characters are not developed fully enough. If the film offers no clear answers, that is partly because it is faithful to its subject. Partisan though it may be on behalf of the workers, it attempts revelation rather than propaganda.

No surrender to nuclear despair



Mia Thurman of RAW YOUTH sings about nuclear war.

By Linda A. Rabben

It seems odd to call a film about nuclear war engaging. But *What Do Children Think of When They Think of the Bomb?* is just that, despite its cumbersome title. This half-hour film by Elizabeth Swados, John Canemaker and Mary D. Silverman will air on PBS in late June. Parents may want to watch it with their children, so that the family can discuss it afterwards.

The film is a collage of interviews, songs, skits and animated sequences that 19 children put together during four weeks of workshops. They sing, dance and talk with eloquent simplicity about their fears. Instead of repeating adults' self-important rationalizations, the kids make refreshing remarks like, "I really think I'd feel better if I knew the world wouldn't end in a ball of fire" and "I can't die tomorrow, I have exams!"

John Canemaker's clever, appealing animation makes the film extraordinary. He conveys the horrors of nuclear war in a way that exactly fits the lively tone of the skits and songs. An animated sequence called "The

End of the World Amusement Park" portrays children's nightmare fantasies with understanding but without condescension. It reminded me of my own childhood terrors after the lights went out.

These children's resolute refusal to surrender to despair or fatalism gives the film a serious basis. Breakdance sequences add beauty, and a powerful song by Raw Youth, a young punk group, shows the children's determination to transcend fear.

Some skits express the mixed feelings and denial that all of us use to cope with the threat of "mutual assured destruction." One little boy demands, "Why are you bothering me with all this? I'd rather leave the mess to you." In a similar vein, the film ends with all the children singing, "Just let me be a kid on the playground....Set me free."

This fast-moving film entertains without putting the mind to sleep. It raises a profoundly disturbing question—what does the fear of nuclear war do to children?—wistfully but insistently. The film's delightful creativity provides the hope necessary to raise children as if the world really will go on.

Economy

Continued from page 16

This may be credited to the monetarism of the late '70s and early '80s, the disastrous effects of which have gone some distance toward restoring the "Keynesian" unemployment conditions that made possible the class compromise of the early postwar period. In the longer run, under conditions of full capacity utilization, continued upward pressure on wages might well provoke a decline in investment or even an investment strike by capitalists. We will consider this possibility in the last article of this series.

The international impact.

The ability of wage equalization and wage growth to enhance productivity addresses fears about the possible effects of a wage-led growth strategy on the competitive position of U.S. producers in the world market. It is unit labor costs in the U.S., relative to those in other countries, that determine the competitive position of U.S. producers. These relative costs depend in turn on the relative movements of both real wages and productivity.

In the international context, relative real wages depend not only on the relative money wages of domestic and foreign workers, but also on the relative prices of domestic and foreign currencies. Therefore an increase in American workers' wages need not result in an increase in U.S. relative unit labor costs if it is associated with either a corresponding increase in productivity or a corresponding decrease in the value of the dollar. Indeed, higher wages could help to reduce those relative costs if productivity rises and/or the value of the dollar falls sufficiently.

In recent years the competitive position of American producers has deteriorated primarily because of the appreciation of the dollar (another counter-productive consequence of tight monetary policy and high interest rates). According to a Bureau of Labor Statistics study, hourly employee compensation in manufacturing actually fell from 1980 to 1982 by roughly 3 percent relative to that of our major trading partners. Relative American productivity fell by about 1 percent, implying a 2 percent decline in relative unit labor costs. But the U.S. trade position nonetheless deteriorated dramatically because of the negative effect on relative costs of the appreciation of the dollar, which rose by roughly 25 percent against competing currencies.

Lower wages have clearly not solved the competitive problem; higher wages offer more promise of doing so.

One might finally object that a high-wage strategy would reduce savings and hence discourage investment because of higher borrowing costs. This objection builds on the observation that workers tend to consume more and save less of their (wage) income than do recipients of property income. That argument is perfectly correct, as far as it goes; it has a long and respected history in both the Keynesian and neo-Marxian economic literature.

But the argument doesn't go far enough. The total amount of savings in an economy depends on the scale of national income as well as on the fraction that is saved. Differences in the propensity to save out of wage and property income will be less significant in determining the overall amount of saving than variations in the level of national income. In an economy as slack as the U.S. economy, the positive effect of higher wages on total savings (through higher consumer and aggregate demand) will almost certainly outweigh any possible negative effects of a shift in the distribution of income in favor of wages.

The economic effects of a wage-led productivity growth strategy are thus appealing. We think that they are indicative of the economic benefits to be reaped by restructuring the economy in the direction of greater fairness and democracy rather than seeking to restore the power and privilege of the few. But many as-

sume that such an unconventional program is infeasible, dangling beyond our grasp, because of the barriers to popular mobilization and the opposition of corporate capitalists.

Such hesitations seem to us short-sighted. One of the strongest arguments in favor of a wage-led productivity growth strategy is its potential for political mobilization and transformation. These are more than ivory-tower exercises in blackboard logic. As we will argue in the final article in this series, the political opportunities of a democratic alternative are real and appealing.

Sam Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf co-authored *Beyond the Waste Land*, recently released in paperback by Anchor/Doubleday Press.

Missiles

Continued from page 11

actions that may help the Dutch movement keep up pressure at home. There is fear that clearly bad news from Holland could be the *coup de grace* to the whole movement to stop Euromissile deployment. Negative comments from Pentagon and NATO officials are held up as encouraging proof of Dutch independence.

Others, like Lieke Thesingh of the Pacifist Socialist Party, believe it is necessary to face up to defeat, turn to non-violent civil disobedience and refusal to cooperate and broaden the focus of the peace movement to other nuclear arms (in particular Holland's "nuclear tasks"), the conventional arms buildup and the Third World.

It is particularly hard for IKV to admit defeat. This highly respectable, church-backed organization has gained hegemony over the whole movement thanks to the apparent chance of success of its strategy aimed at persuading parliament members. Things could fly apart quickly now that this hope has apparently vanished.

IKV now seems to have given up hope of Holland alone leading the way to nuclear disarmament. "We need to relate this internationally to the Greek and Danish positions," said Wim Bartels. The three countries' departures from the NATO scheme all show misgivings among the allies and could be cited to call for a moratorium.

It is considered appropriate that among Christian Democratic cabinet members the main champion of the cruise deployment is Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, while the most reluctant has been Defense Minister Job de Ruiter. From the Dutch viewpoint, there is no good military argument in favor of cruise.

Apparently, the leaders' motivation for accepting the nuclear missiles is purely political: they want to stay on as members of the club, the NATO in-group that runs the Western world. "They want to be taken seriously inside NATO," Bartels explained. "They are afraid of being given 'footnote status' like Greece or Denmark." (That scornful expression refers to the footnote at the bottom of NATO communiqués noting that Greece or Denmark did not agree with such and such a decision.)

The characteristically Dutch urge to exert moral influence on the rest of the world cuts both ways. It gave impetus to the nuclear disarmament movement, but it also motivates the country's leaders to go along with deployment.

While voicing just enough complaint to enhance the prestige of Lubbers' government, the Reagan administration must be satisfied with a decision that goes toward deployment. Washington's best friends in the Hague are Ed Nijpels' People's Freedom and Democracy (VVD) party of "yuppies," who might not have made it back into a new coalition government with the Christian Democrats had the cabinet fallen and elections been held on the issue.

The Labor Party led by Joop den Uyl has opposed deployment, like the other Social Democratic parties of Northern

Europe. But there are fears on the left that in the absence of any clear, coherent encouragement from the Democratic Party in the U.S., and faced with strong opposition from the French Socialists, these parties in the future may vacillate toward some compromise described as "arms control."

The U.S. presidential election may settle the deployment question in the Netherlands as far as the politicians are concerned. But a decision to deploy means a defiance of majority public opinion with dangerous implications for Dutch democracy.

Holland

Continued from page 11

people, including Protestant pastors.

Politics in the Netherlands is impregnated with Christian moralism, and nowhere more than on the far left. The Political Party of Radicals was founded in 1968 by Catholics dissatisfied with the conservatism of the Christian Democrats. They won two seats in the 1982 elections with 1.6 percent of the vote. The PPR is still extremely Christian and is concerned mainly with the environment, the peace movement and the development of a small scale economy.

The Radicals' most original contribution is their backing for the "non-work movement," revising the traditional work ethic in favor of the idea that a person's worth does not depend on working. This obviously ran into opposition in the working-class left, but this opposition has faded as unemployment soars.

These three parties have evolved toward similar positions. The PSP, which is the vanguard on most issues, began the opposition to nuclear power, soon joined by the Radicals. At first, the CPN was not against nuclear power per se, but only against Dutch government participation in the fast-breeder reactor project in Kalkar, just over the German border, which produces plutonium and gives the Federal Republic of Germany a nuclear weapons capacity. But after the Three Mile Island incident, the CPN came around to complete opposition to nuclear power, as did the Labor Party.

An active antinuclear movement, plus the fact that the Netherlands' vast natural gas reserves makes it a net energy exporter with no need for nuclear-generated electricity, has produced a clear majority against nuclear power, as officially acknowledged in January. But this has not stopped the government of Christian Democratic Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers from deciding to build more nuclear power plants. This defiance of the majority of public opinion is being called "nonsense" government.

Pessimism prevails.

The Green Progressive Accord program is frankly pessimistic. "After World War II, expectations about the possibilities of creating a new kind of society ran high," it recalls. "Now, submerged in an economic and ecological crisis and under the threat of deploying new nuclear missiles, this new society seems more remote than ever. Animosity is on the increase; rivers are being polluted, forests decay; within the Common Market 15 million people are in search of jobs, to no avail; poverty is spreading; exploitation of the earth continues; oppression persists."

The most the Green program dares fight for is mere "survival," and even that evidently requires a series of policies diametrically opposed to everything that is being done or seems likely to be done.

The Accord expected little from the European elections, especially since it—and therefore its potential electorate—has no use for the Common Market anyway. As usual, the Pacifist Socialist Party is most blunt. The European Parliament, it says, serves as a "democratic facade" for the Common Market, which essentially serves the big multinationals. The European Community "in its present form is a hindrance on the road to socialism," the party says. "Therefore, our final goal is its abolition."

For all their agreements, the three parties of the Green Progressive Accord are unlikely to stick together for national elections. The Communists are still having troubles with their old guard. The Radicals have problems with their "greens" who object to the "red" or socialist side of the left. The Socialists have trouble with members who fear that alliance with other parties will damage their reputation for being uncompromisingly principled.

Dutch leftists are disheartened by the paradoxical fact that here—as elsewhere in Europe—although a majority may agree with the left on a specific issue, a majority will also vote for parties promising "strong leadership" that go against the majority on most important issues. The deepening atmosphere of fear seems to favor this irrational behavior. It is as if people have been persuaded that their own preferences are unrealistic, as the right claims.

A new development is the appearance of a radical right racist party, the Centrum Party, which won a seat in parliament in 1982 on a "Holland for the Dutch" program. The Netherlands itself has always been a nice and peaceful society, but it was a harsh colonial taskmaster in Indonesia and elsewhere. Some of its veterans of the Korean war and other foreign adventures are showing up in the new radical right groups, preaching "self-defense" against foreigners with a brutality new to Holland.

There is a puzzle in Dutch society that has to do with the work ethic—or no work ethic. A large percentage of Dutch people are outside the productive work force, and yet Holland remains a rich country. Like an old bourgeois family, it lives on its income: from natural gas, from overseas investment, from a few big multinationals like Shell and Phillips.

The wives and children don't have to earn their own living. There is enough revenue to support them all. But that only works so long as everything stays within the blond, blue-eyed family. If dark-skinned foreigners start intruding, things could get nasty.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Kirby Mittelmeyer**.

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Hogs

Continued from page 24

troubles. Mickey's back is permanently curved and hunched.

Billy the Kid, 19 and raw-boned strong, works the dehairing machine next to the old man. He punches its green and red control buttons as if he were a keyboard player in a rock'n'roll band while the concrete floor underneath vibrates to his tune, spitting up a boiled and dehaired hog on each downbeat.

It vomits up the animal to Harry the Housecat, who's a bossman's dream. Neither flesh nor blood nor sweat nor steel, he's the grease that oils the line.

He stands at his station berating old Mickey: "Hurry up. Hurry up old man and we can set a record."

His shirt is tucked, his blue jeans are properly faded, his cowboy boots glisten. He has the easiest job on the line. He simply rolls the hogs from the tumbler, scrapes some excess hair with his curved banana knife and rolls the hog to the next station.

His function is not one of disassembly, but disorientation. Harry creates doubts. "Am I good? Am I good enough?" You wonder as he cackles at you from his place on the catwalk, the highest in the plant, "Hurry up. Hurry up."

Hurry past the two Thomases—one black, one Polish. Past John the Gutter. Past Grandpa, who wheels out the heavy, gut-

laden drums to the rendering truck at the loading dock. Past the inspector's station, while the inspector grabs a smoke or bullshits with the bosses. Past Sarge who rips carcasses in half with a bandsaw, spitting bonechips and pieces of spinal column in every direction. Past all that to the lugger's station, where the lugger weighs and pushes the sides of pork into the cooler for the next day's butchering. He's the end of the line.

Tough work.

Concentration of ownership in the meatpacking industry has now reached the point where IBP (owned by Occidental Petroleum) controls from 20 to 25 percent of beef packing. This same conglomerate gobbled up hundreds of independent packers in the last

two decades, and only three other firms control most of the industry. More than 390 of 1,032 beef firms closed between 1969 and 1979. IBP recently tried to take over Wilson Foods, the nation's largest pork producer, which controls about 20 percent of the market. The takeover failed only when Wilson declared bankruptcy and wrung enormous concessions from the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

Meanwhile, the price of ribs-on-a-stick soars. Wage standards in the industry have been cut to \$7 an hour (about half of what they were at their high point in the late '70s). Union concessions accumulate while packers threaten to run.

Even the profit-managers in Occidental's accounting depart-

ment have admitted the following:

- 85 percent of the cost of meat is in the original animal price;
- about 5 percent of costs go to labor (wages and benefits);
- about 10 percent of costs are for energy, transportation, etc.;
- beefpackers make about \$5 a head on the slaughter; and
- they make about \$5 a head on processing.

Even the president of the Excel Corporation, the nation's second largest beefpacker, has stated, "To think people will work in a packinghouse for \$5 an hour is just not fair. It's tough manual labor in a cold environment. It's not like working in the sunshine."

Thanks, boss. Now we all know.

Tom Johnson is a Chicago-based writer and teacher.

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INDIANA JONES

NON-VIEWER'S EMERGENCY



By Pat Aufderheide

Many of us have already seen *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, the smash-hit sequel to *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. Most of the rest of us are still standing in line. A few of us have read the reviews ("roller coaster," "exhausting," "forces you to have fun") and are willing, especially if we're veterans of *Raiders*, to take the whole experience on faith.

As for me, my feet are already tired just thinking about trying to get in.

For this minority, then, here is a guide for the determined non-viewer of the film:

WHAT TO SAY WHEN ASKED, "Have you seen *Indiana Jones* yet?"

- I have claustrophobia.
- I have agoraphobia.
- I get sick at the sight of (insects, eyeballs, foreign food).

• I'm really looking forward to seeing it when the crowds die down a bit.

• I went to *Romancing the Stone* by mistake.

• I thought they didn't let adults in.

All of these are tested solutions to a tricky problem, although each poses its own difficulties in circumventing the suspicion that you are one of those people who just can't have a good time.

Some tested replies definitely will not work.

DO NOT SAY:

• You are tired of films that make human characters the rails on which the action hurtles.

• You thought you had gone as far as you were willing to go in passively endorsing Oriental stereotyping by watching the palace scenes in *Return of the Jedi* and the shrouded masses in *Raiders*.

• You think that this movie-fed love affair with tough adventurer heroes is the kind of thing that prepares people for Marines who stomp all over small Caribbean islands.

This will only get you into arguments, and they won't end with the opening sally, which will be, "Oh for cripes sake, it's only a movie." The connection between the ideological and emotional content of film and the actions people take in real life is complex and impossible to prove. If you are disgusted that American culture is being represented around the world by slam-bang white heroes who (with their Oriental sidekicks) turn the rest of the world into an amusement park, this is your right. But it may be better not to discuss it. The reason people talk about the movies is that they don't want to talk about religion or politics.

People do like to talk about morality though, a fact closely tied with the way movies make their box-office records establishing clear-cut good guys and bad guys. That is why it is all right for you to question the violence in the film. You may note that the director Steven Spielberg himself believed that some sequences are too violent for young children, and you may even draw a distinction between parts of the film that are, in the parlance of the film's target audience, yucky, and parts of the film that openly play on the horror in man's cruelty to man (and woman).

The advantage of this comment is that, if you phrase it right, you don't have to call the film, or its central concept, into question. Your conversational companion is free to expostulate on therapeutic aspects of horror, to explain to you why some violence in the film is acceptable while other violence isn't, or even to agree with you. And it still allows him or her to go on to tell you about the film.

This clears the way for the only perfect solution to the "Have you seen the movie yet?" question. Armed with details from your companion's film description, you can then reply to the next questioner, "Hey, yeah! What a picture!"

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